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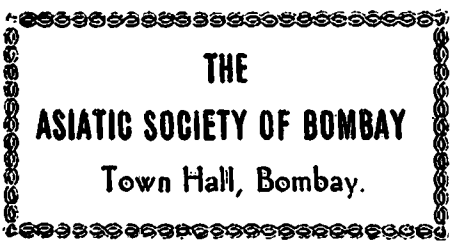

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CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
L. ERIE
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
VERMONT
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
MAP
of the
STATE OF NEW YORK
Engraved for
Pres^t Dwights Travels
1823
Scale of Miles
Longitude West & New York College

TRAVELS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND AND NEW-YORK.

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BY

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S. T. D. LL. D.

LATE PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE;

AUTHOR OF

THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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DEAR SIR;

GROTON is a township, lying on the Thames about twelve miles, and on the Sound about six or seven. A tract, extending along the Sound through the whole breadth of the township, and another, a mile wide, along the Thames, extending through the whole length of the township, are rich and pleasant. The remainder is generally very stony, difficult of cultivation, and to a great extent forested. The soil of Groton is better fitted for grass than for grain. Several of the farms are cultivated by tenants.

The inhabitants carry on some commerce upon the Thames, from the shore immediately opposite to New-London; and at Packer's ferry on the Mystic, a mill-stream, which separates Groton from Stonington. At each of these places there is a small village. That which was opposite to New-London was principally burnt by the British troops in Arnold's expedition. The damage was estimated at 78,390 dollars. It is now chiefly rebuilt. Throughout the rest of the township, plantations, thinly scattered, are formed in many places. The grounds, which are sufficiently fertile and easy of cultivation to

invite the hand of the farmer, are everywhere taken up. The remainder seems destined to continue in a forested state; for its surface is in a great measure covered with rocks and stones.

The inhabitants of Groton have been more generally regardless of religion than those of most other places in Connecticut. It is a long period since they have had a minister of the Gospel; and the last, a very worthy man, was obliged to leave them, for the want of support. This must have resulted from a general indisposition to support the worship of God. The people are so numerous, that they might support three ministers at least, without any inconvenience to themselves *. There are some honourable exceptions to these remarks.

Groton began to be settled soon after New-London, *i. e.* soon after the year 1648; but was not incorporated until 1705. In 1756, in contained 2,532 whites, 179 blacks, and 158 Indians; in 1774, 3,488 whites, 169 blacks, and 191 Indians; in 1790, 3,946; in 1800, 4,372; and, in 1810, 4,451.

Of the Indians, in the year 1770, it is said, 44 were able to read, and 17 were members of the Christian church. The number of these people is supposed now to be diminished by their customary vices. The aboriginal name of Groton was Mystic.

This township was the principal seat of the Pequods, who occupied New-London, Norwich, Lisbon, Bozrah, Franklin, Plainfield, Preston, Groton, Stonington, and most probably several other townships, a tract not far from thirty miles square†. Under the command of several shrewd and brave

* Since the paragraph above was written, a number of the inhabitants, as if awaked out of a long slumber, have embodied themselves in a congregation, built a church, and settled a respectable minister. The blessings usually flowing from these measures, or, more properly, following them, they have already began to realize, and their children will hereafter rise up and call them blessed.

† The legislature of the colony of Connecticut, in their answer to heads of inquiry relative to the state and condition of the colony, signified by the secretary of state, July 5th, 1773, say, page 5th, "The original title to the lands on which the colony was first settled was, at the time the English came hither, in the Pequod nation of Indians, who were numerous and war-

chiefs, these people rendered themselves very formidable to most of the inhabitants in southern New-England. Sassacus particularly, who was their principal sachem at the time when the colonists arrived, appears to have been regarded by his neighbours, as well as by his subjects, with that peculiar awe, which is inspired by superior personal strength, activity, courage, and cunning. By most of them he was considered as invincible; and by all as a singularly dangerous enemy. To those bodily endowments, which are the great means of savage glory, he united a mind, possessed of uncommon native vigour, sagacity, and resolution; and proved his personal superiority by the most difficult exploits, and by the successful conduct of many bold military enterprises. For an Indian, he was unquestionably a great man, and had he been born in an enlightened age and country, might perhaps have been a Charles, or an Alexander. Under his instruction, and by his example, a number of his chiefs also had become intrepid and sagacious warriors. Animated by this band of heroes, the Pequods had risen to the summit of glory, and held among the southern tribes of New-England a station scarcely less distinguished than that of the Iroquois, in the western parts of New-York.

Sassacus, soon after the establishment of the first New-England colonists, appears thoroughly to have comprehended the danger, which, from this source, threatened his countrymen. He beheld them gaining quiet possession of several important tracts in the neighbourhood of his own territory, as well as others in parts more remote. They erected houses and fortresses, built and navigated vessels, and exhibited a

like. Their country extended from Narrhagansett to Hudson river, and over all Long-Island. Sassacus, their great sagamore, had under him twenty-six sachems. He injuriously made war upon the English, exercised despotic dominion over his subjects, and, with all his sachems and people, were conquered, and made tributary to the English. This account of the territories of the Pequods must not be understood to denote the country which they actually inhabited, but that which they either subdued or awed into subjection by the terror of their name."

Sassacus is here called their great sagamore, and is said to have had under him twenty-six sachems. These titles were, I think, mistaken by the legislature. Sachem, as far as I have been able to learn, denoted the chief ruler, and sagamore the subordinate.

skill and policy in government, to which he and his countrymen had before been strangers. They possessed weapons also of a new and terrible kind, conveying death from an unexampled distance, and with a certainty and extent of execution, pre-eminently alarming. At the same time they appeared to be perfectly united, had already become numerous, and were continually increasing. They had also begun to demand of the Indians an adherence to their engagements, to which they had never been habituated, to regulate commerce by new rules, and to construe treaties on principles more strict than savages had ever been obliged to admit. To all these disagreeable things they added a kind of authority in their proposals and requisitions, which savage independence could not brook, and which savage pride and resentment were impatient to retribute.

This haughty Indian seems to have been the first who formed the politic design, afterwards executed by Philip, the son of Massasoit, of embarking all the Indians in New-England in a general enterprise, for the purpose of driving the English colonists out of the country. The design was undoubtedly conceived with the soundest policy; and, had Sassacus been able to carry it into complete execution, would probably have terminated in the entire ruin of the colonists. But, happily for our ancestors and for us, there were at this time insuperable obstacles to a successful effort of this nature. Sassacus and his people were more dreaded by all the neighbouring tribes, than were the English themselves. They were hated and envied, as well as dreaded. Every proposal to embark with them in any enterprise was therefore considered by their neighbours as treacherously made, and dangerously accepted. Those, from whom we have already received injuries, and by whom we have been often alarmed and distressed, are always regarded with more disgust and terror than new enemies. A proffer of friendship and union from such a source is always suspected as intending concealed mischief; and, whatever advantages it may promise, it will be believed to promise them only to those by whom the proffer is made. With such prepossessions against him and his people, Sassacus attempted, without success, to unite the surrounding nations in this enterprise. They heard his proposals, and seem in several in-

stances to have admitted their justice and propriety without opposition. But they hesitated, and declined, on various pretences, to embark with him in any measure for carrying them into execution.

Even the Narrhagansetts, who greatly outnumbered the Pequods, regarded these people and their chief (having often suffered from their prowess), with such apprehension, that they could never be brought to an open and determined adoption of the design. They were plainly bitter enemies of the English, and ardently wished for their extermination. They also perfectly understood the policy and wisdom of the proposal, and felt the force of the arguments by which it was urged. The scheme of attack was too evidently wise and practicable, to fail of their approbation. This was to burn the houses and destroy the cattle of the English, to ambush their roads, to hang upon the skirts of their settlements, and to waste them away by continual loss, alarm, discouragement, watching, and fatigue. Few as the colonists were at that time, no other kind of warfare seems to have been necessary in order to break up their settlements. The Narrhagansetts, however, were still reluctant to unite with their mortal enemies; and, upon a proposal made by the governor of Massachusetts to renew the treaty between them and the English, Miantonimoh, their chief sachem, together with several subordinate chieftains, went to Boston, and engaged in a peace with the English, openly hostile to the Pequods.

Sassacus and his people, not discouraged by the disappointment, persisted in their favourite design with an intrepidity, which, in a nation of Europe, would have commanded praise from the pen of every historian.

In the year 1634, Captains Stone and Norton, with eight men, in a vessel from St. Christopher's, entered Connecticut river for the purpose of trade, under the pilotage of twelve Indians, friends and allies of the Pequods, and were all murdered by their pilots. Stone and two of his men were dispatched while they were asleep. Norton made a gallant defence; but, having placed some powder in an open vessel, that he might load with the greater expedition, he accidentally set it on fire, and was so burned as to be disabled from any farther effort. The plunder acquired by this act of treachery

and violence was shared by the Pequods and some of their neighbours.

Sassacus and his men were apprehensive that the English would make war upon them, to avenge the death of Stone and his companions; and, being imperfectly prepared for such an event, attempted to avert the blow by negociation. Accordingly they sent an ordinary warrior to Boston, with proposals to the governor of Massachusetts, of peace and reconciliation. The messenger was not received; and was informed, that men of superior distinction must be employed by the Pequods, if they expected any attention to their propositions. Accordingly they dispatched two envoys of higher rank, with a present, to accomplish their purpose. The only terms which they could obtain were, that they must deliver up the murderers. They replied, that the murderers were all dead, except two, whom they were willing to deliver up, if they should be found guilty. They also offered several other conditions, particularly to yield their right to Connecticut river, and its neighbourhood, to the English. The treaty was at length ratified upon these terms, and the English agreed to trade with them as friends.

After the treaty was signed, the messengers returned home, but the Pequods never fulfilled any of their engagements. The truth was, they had entered into them merely because the Dutch and the Narrhagansetts were prosecuting a war with them, and they thought it not safe to make new enemies.

In the year 1635, John Oldham, an inhabitant of Dorchester, who had been trading in Connecticut, was murdered in the neighbourhood of Block Island, by some of its Indian inhabitants, together with several of the Narrhagansetts. A Mr. Gallup, who was sailing from Connecticut to Boston, passing by Oldham's vessel, saw a number of Indians on board, and a number of others going from it in a canoe with a load of English goods. Suspecting the cause, he hailed them; and, receiving no answer, steered immediately for Oldham's vessel. With only one man and two boys, he attacked them so briskly, that he instantly cleared the deck. He then ran upon Oldham's vessel three several times, and gave it such severe shocks, that six of the Indians at one time, and

five at another, leaped overboard, and perished. He then boarded the vessel, bound two of the Indians, took out Oldham's corpse, together with the remaining furniture and goods, and took the vessel in tow. The corpse he buried. The wind, however, soon obliged him to set the vessel adrift, and she was lost. One of the Indians he was obliged to throw overboard, the other he conveyed to Boston. Several of the murderers of Oldham fled to the Pequods, and were protected by them.

The Narrhagansetts early, and sedulously, offered such satisfaction for their share in this treacherous business, as was ultimately accepted by the government of Massachusetts-Bay.

In 1636, Captain Endicot was sent by this government to avenge these injuries upon the Pequods, and the inhabitants of Block Island. This party ravaged Block Island, by destroying the corn, canoes, and weekwams; made an ineffectual effort of a similar nature upon the Pequods; and then returned home, without having accomplished any object of importance.

The Pequods, who before hated the English, now despised them, and began their hostilities with vigour. They attacked Captain Underhill, and twenty men, destined to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook, as he was lying in the harbour of New-London, took successively and tortured several of the men, and killed several others; waylaid the inhabitants of Saybrook, when about their ordinary business; surrounded the fort with a kind of siege, and destroyed every thing valuable in its neighbourhood. In the spring of the succeeding year, renewing their attacks with still greater activity, they killed four men at Saybrook, and a fifth in the river. Two others, taken at the same time, they tortured in the most excruciating manner, till they died. Another party of them killed six men and three women at Wethersfield, and captivated two girls. In consequence of these ravages, the government of Connecticut, although the whole jurisdiction comprised only three towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, determined to attack the Pequods in earnest, and raised ninety men for this purpose. Massachusetts, at the same time, engaged to send two hundred men, and Plymouth forty, to their assistance. The little army of Connecticut, joined by seventy Moheagans,

fell down the river on Wednesday, the 10th of May, under the command of Captain John Mason, a man who was both born and bred a soldier. The Moheagans were headed by Uncas, a sachem extensively celebrated in the history of New-England. The movement of their little fleet was so slow, that the Moheagans requested to be set on shore. On their march towards Saybrook they fell in with a body of the Pequods, of whom they killed seven, and took one a prisoner. This man, having been concerned in all the treacheries and murders of his nation for a length of time, was claimed by Uncas, to be put to death in the Indian manner, and expired under the inflictions of savage torture.

Mason, although directed to proceed immediately to New-London, judged it best (and brought his officers into the same opinion) to sail to Narrhagansett-Bay, and secure the friendship and assistance of Miantonimoh, or at least his neutrality. He found Miantonimoh disposed, without much reluctance, to coincide with his wishes; but he was hardly induced to believe, that the English commander was in earnest in his avowed determination to attack the Pequods. Their number he considered as too small to furnish even a remote prospect of success. However, when he saw Mason resolved to proceed, he sent two hundred of the Narrhagansetts along with him. They marched that day, Wednesday, May 24th, to Charlestown*, and were joined the next morning by almost two hundred more, partly Narrhagansetts, and partly eastern Nahantics, who boasted much of the gallantry which they intended to display in fighting the Pequods. But upon approaching nearer to the enemy, and finding Captain Mason really determined on an attack, a considerable number of them were so disheartened, that they left the army, and returned home.

The original design of Mason had been to attack the fort† in which Sassacus himself resided. The desertion was occasioned by the notification of this purpose to the Indians, all of whom trembled at his formidable name, and seem to have imagined, that no attempt against him could be attended with success. Upon inquiry, Captain Mason found, after a march of three miles farther, that he was twelve miles from the spot.

* In the state of Rhode-Island.

† This stood not far from the Thames, a few miles above the ferry.

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At the same time he was assured, that the other fort of the Pequods was near at hand. He determined, therefore, to make this the object of his first assault; and, having ordered his men to rest for the night, and sent out an Indian to reconnoitre, discovered, with no small satisfaction, that his enemies had not even suspected his arrival, but were in a state of perfect security.

About two hours before day, his little army began their march for the expected fortress, and came in sight of it at daybreak. The Indians immediately vanished. Uncas, however, and Wequash, a Pequod chief, who had suffered several indignities from the imperiousness of Sassacus, at length reappeared, and apologized for the flight of their followers, alleging, as their excuse, the terror with which they regarded these enemies. Mason ordered them to collect their countrymen, and encompass the fort at whatever distance they pleased, that they might see whether Englishmen would fight. They obeyed. Mason, with one division of his troops, attempted the eastern entrance of the palisade, while Underhill, with the other division, marched to the western. It will be proper to observe, that the fort stood on Mystic river, the boundary between Stonington and Groton.

The English were discovered, by the barking of a dog, when they were within a few rods of the palisade; and, while the Indians were betaking themselves to their arms, poured a general discharge of their muskets through the interstices. Mason finding the eastern entrance small, and difficult to be carried, hastened round to the southern one, which was sufficiently large, and secured only by two small boughs. These he and his lieutenant instantly removed, and entered the fortress, the men crowding closely behind them. The Pequods fought with great resolution; and, after they had been driven from the open ground, secured themselves in the numerous wekwams, enclosed within the palisade. Hence they annoyed the English incessantly, without being visible. Wearied with this inconvenient and fruitless mode of attack, Mason ordered his men to set the wekwams on fire; and, seizing a brand, became their example. At this moment an Indian pointed an arrow against him, and would have killed him instantly, had not a sergeant, named Davis, cut the bowstring. The fire

spread among the dry boughs and foliage with which the weekwams were covered, with furious rapidity, and speedily involved them in a general conflagration. The English immediately retired without the fort. The Pequods, following them in order to escape from the flames, were slain by the English, or by their Indian allies, who, having assumed sufficient resolution to become witnesses of the conflict, had formed themselves in a circle without the English.

The destruction was very great. Seven only of the Pequods escaped; and only seven more were made prisoners. Between five and six hundred are supposed to have fallen, of whom one hundred and forty were, in the opinion of Captain Mason, shot from the top of the palisade, whither they had climbed to avoid the fury of the flames. The English had originally determined not to burn the fort; but, when they found themselves assailed from the weekwams by an enemy who could neither be met nor seen, they resorted to this as a desperate and indispensable measure. When the victory was finished, after some little desultory skirmishing with other parties of the Pequods, who made an appearance of attacking them, but fled as soon as they approached, the English embarked on board their vessels, which providentially came into the harbour just at the time when the army, wearied by so much excessive fatigue, impatiently wished for their arrival. Within three weeks from the commencement of the expedition they arrived at Hartford, with the loss of two men killed and sixteen wounded. Their Indian allies also returned to their respective homes.

Few efforts, made by man, have been more strongly marked with wisdom in the projection, or with superior courage and conduct in the execution. Every step appears to have been directed by that spirit and prudence which mankind have, with one voice, regarded with admiration and applause in the statesman and the hero. The Pequods were wholly the aggressors; and, however we may approve of the policy with which they proposed to exterminate the English, we cannot fail to remember, that the English had entered peaceably into the country, and purchased the possessions at a fair price, of the lawful proprietors. Ninety men undertook and accomplished this desperate enterprise against an enemy, command-

ing probably not less than one thousand or fifteen hundred warriors, the most resolute and successful in New-England, the terror and the scourge of all the surrounding nations, headed by a chief unrivalled in his sagacity and success, and possessed of every military endowment, and of all the skill and address attainable by savages.

When the news was carried to Sassacus, it produced a tempest of conflicting passions in the minds of his people and their chieftains. Regret for the loss of their countrymen, and resentment against him, as the author of their calamities, enraged them to such a degree, that they were on the point of putting him to death. His friends, however, interceded for him powerfully, and finally saved his life. But the terror produced by their late disaster, agitated them into a frenzy. Instead of waiting for another attack, they set fire to their weekwams, and to the great fortress of Sassacus, and fled in different directions. Sassacus, together with some of his chiefs, and about seventy followers, went to the Iroquois. The principal part of the nation were dispersed in the countries, westward of Connecticut river. The greatest body of them directed their course by a winding route to Fairfield, where they were received, and secreted by a tribe, who were natives of the place, and were called Unquowas. The principal fortress of these people was in a swamp, on the border of the Sound, about two miles westward of the town of Fairfield, and about a quarter of a mile eastward of Sasco river, lying immediately south of the old post road to New-York *.

Captain Stoughton, with a body of men from Massachusetts, arriving speedily after the flight of the Pequods, determined to pursue them; and, having providentially discovered the place of their retreat, marched directly thither. Here he was soon joined by Mason, with forty men from Hartford. On the arrival of the English in the neighbourhood of the swamp, a part of them, advancing eagerly, sunk so deep into the mire, that, being instantly attacked by the Indians, they were very near being destroyed, and several of them were badly

* The present turnpike road to New-York passes through this swamp.

wounded, before a sufficient number of their friends could come to their rescue. The Indians then requesting a parley, it was granted, and Thomas Stanton was sent by the English to propose to them terms of surrender; and particularly to proffer life to such Indians as had not been concerned in murdering the English. The chief of the Unquowas, with his family and people, to the amount of about two hundred, gladly accepted of these terms, and immediately left the fort. Stanton was sent a second time, to renew the proffer to the rest. These, who were either chiefly or wholly Pequods, received the proposals with disdain. Stanton fled for his life. The Indians pursued him with their arrows so vigorously, that, had not his friends hastened to rescue him, he would have been killed.

Upon this proof of determined hostility, the English resolved to surround the fort at a nearer distance, by cutting a passage through the swamp. Here they formed a circle, the men placing themselves at the distance of twelve feet from each other; and in this manner completely enclosed their enemies. Towards morning a thick fog arose from the Sound, and covered the swamp. A considerable number of the enemy took this opportunity to make their escape, which, after several unsuccessful attempts, they accomplished by breaking through a quadrant of the circle, commanded by Captain Patrick. A considerable number more were killed in several attacks during the night; and in the morning one hundred and eighty were taken prisoners. These were divided between the Massachusetts and the Connecticut troops. The people of Massachusetts sent several of the women and children to Bermuda, and sold them as slaves. The wife of Mononotto, the second in rank among the Pequod chiefs, was one of the captives. This woman had been formerly distinguished by a peculiar attachment to the two girls taken by her countrymen at Wethersfield. She and her children were recommended to the particular favour of Governor Winthrop, and were received and treated by him with a kindness and generosity, wholly becoming his character. The remainder of the nation, exclusively of those who had fled, and who probably were numerous, amounted to two hundred, beside women and chil-

dren. Of these one hundred were given to Uncas, eighty to Miantonimoh, and twenty to Ninnigret, another sachem of the Narrhaganetts, to be incorporated among their own people *.

Sassacus was soon after killed by the Mohawks, and his scalp sent to Connecticut. Mononotto made his escape.

Thus within the compass of a few weeks was a tribe of Indians exterminated, who, according to the tradition of the country, had come from an inland region at a great distance, fought their way through all the intervening tribes to the ocean, planted themselves in the tracts which they had conquered, and awed, with a general and indeterminate control, all the nations in their neighbourhood. This tribe, apparently superior in their understanding to other savages, and possessed of loftier and more extensive views, was so far annihilated as to be thenceforth without a government, and without a name. It is not easy to travel through the country where they formerly resided, or to pass by the field, in which

* The legislature of Connecticut, in the answers above referred to, say, "The war with the Pequods being ended, considerations and settlements were made with such sachems and people as remained, who came in and received to their full contentment and satisfaction, and have at all times since been used and treated with justice and humanity. No grants are made by the general assembly before the Indian title is purchased, agreeably to the right of pre-emption granted by royal charter to the governor and company of the colony."

Extract from the Records of Connecticut.—"Joseph Nyouke, a Pequod, presented a petition, in behalf of himself and other Pequod Indians in Groton, concerning the land reserved for that tribe in Groton, one half of which had by permission of the general assembly been divided into fifty-acre lots. This property had been misused by the whites, to whom it had been leased. A committee was granted on this petition, May, 1760."

From this extract, which I have taken the liberty to abbreviate, it is evident, that the legislature of Connecticut, from the conquest of the Pequods, reserved for them by law a considerable tract of land for their maintenance, and superintended their interests with the same attention which was paid to those of the white inhabitants of the colony. This is a decisive instance of the justice, and of the humanity also, with which the Indians were treated by the early colonists of New-England, and which has been continued to the present time.

they were finally overthrown, without indulging many solemn and melancholy reflections.

The conquest of the Pequods filled the Indians of New-England with astonishment and terror. In the emphatical language of revelation, the land, like that of Israel, under the government of Othniel, after the victory over the king of Mesopotamia, "had rest forty years."

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Stonington; cultivated partly by Tenants. Indians still remaining here. Their degraded Character and Situation. The perfection to which Man arrives in a state of Nature. General Observations upon the remnants of the Indian Tribes now found in New-England. Means of effecting their Civilization.

DEAR SIR;

AFTER crossing the Mystic, we entered Stonington. The face of the country became immediately better; and, though rough and stony to a considerable degree, was formed of easy and beautiful slopes, levels of considerable extent, and finely rounded eminences. The prospects were generally pleasant, and in several instances superior. The soil also was rich, and almost everywhere well-cultivated. This description is applicable to most of the township, which is one of the largest in Connecticut, extending, with a breadth of about six miles, not less than sixteen from the Sound into the interior*. Beside grass, it yields maize, oats, barley, and rye, remarkably well. Wheat is cultivated in small quantities, and grows luxuriantly; but is often blasted. This is in part attributed to the exuberant vegetation of grass, which, when apparently destroyed by the plough, springs up from the seed, and choaks the wheat at the time when the kernel is forming. Flax formerly grew well; but lately has been blasted also, probably from some defect in the mode of culture. Orchards abound here; and are so prosperous, that apples and cider have become considerable articles of commerce. In the southern half of the township wood is scarce and dear, in the northern it is sufficiently abundant. The hills constitute almost the whole

* Since this journey was taken, Stonington has been divided into two townships; the second named North-Stonington.

surface, and are altogether the best land. The vallies, which are usually narrow and rough, present to the eye a confused mass of stones and rocks, apparently rolled together from the hills by some violent convulsion.

Within the limits of this township are found, on the summits of hills, in about fifty places, single large rocks, lying loose on the surface of other rocks, imbedded in the earth. One particularly, in the southern part of the township, is raised up from the surface on three stones, about twelve or fifteen inches in diameter. The diameter of the rock itself is about fifteen feet. How or when it was thus placed is unknown, and has hitherto baffled conjecture.

The farms in this township contain from sixty to three hundred acres each. Almost half of them are cultivated by tenants. A great part of these are poor people from Rhode-Island, who make Stonington their half-way house, in their progress towards the new settlements. Accustomed from their childhood to labour hard on a sterile soil, and to live on very scanty means of subsistence, they come with their families to the rich lands of Stonington, and take small farms, or parts of farms, upon lease. Here, with the most assiduous industry and a minute frugality, they gradually amass money enough to purchase farms in the wilderness. They then leave their habitations to successors from the same state, who regularly follow them in the same track. In this manner a considerable part of the inhabitants of this township are almost annually changed. It is, however, to be observed, that some of the Stonington people lease their own farms, and hire and cultivate others, which are larger.

The rents of these farms are from one to seven hundred dollars per annum; paid usually in their produce, and, in the greater number of instances, in cheese only. Of this commodity 370,000 pounds are annually exported from this township. Seventeen thousand pounds have been made in a year on the lands of Mr. Denison, the gentleman with whom we lodged. The mode, in which each farm is to be managed by the tenant, is regularly described with minute exactness in the lease.

I have mentioned this subject thus particularly, because it is in a great measure peculiar to this spot. There are, indeed, several instances in which farms are taken upon lease in Groton;

and, in solitary instances, the same thing exists in other places; but there are probably more cases of this nature in Stonington than can be found elsewhere in a third part of the state.

There are four villages in Stonington: one on the Mystic; another at the head of navigation on the Paukatuc; a third, four miles further up the same stream, called Mill-Town; and a fourth on Stonington Point. The population in these villages is increasing; in the rest of the township it is at a stand. The houses are, generally, good farmers' dwellings. The villages are built in a neat manner.

Stonington Point is a semi-ellipsis, a third of a mile in length; and, where widest, a fourth of a mile in breadth. From the centre the surface declines every way, with an easy, arched slope, to the shore. It is disagreeably encumbered with rocks, but is otherwise handsome and pleasant. The houses, about 170 in number, are neat in their appearance and their appendages. There are two churches on the Point; a Presbyterian and a Baptist; both new, and good.

The Point is accommodated with two harbours. That on the western side has a bold shore; is sufficiently deep for vessels, under two hundred and fifty tons, to load at the wharfs, and is safe from all winds, except the south-west, and in the upper parts even from that. The wharfs are built of stone, and are in good order*.

* The following letter is an official account of an abortive attempt made during the late war, by the squadron under Commodore Hardy, to burn the borough of Stonington.

"STONINGTON BOROUGH, Aug. 21st, 1815.

"To the Hon. William H. Crawford, Secretary of War.

"SIR;—The former secretary of war put into my care, as chairman of the committee of defence, the two eighteen pounders, and all the munitions of war that were here, belonging to the general government, to be used for the defence of the town, and I gave my receipt for the same.

As there is no military officer here, it becomes my duty to inform you of the use we have made of it. That on the 9th of August last, the Ramilies seventy-four, the Pactolus forty-four, the Terror bomb-ship, and the Despatch twenty gun brig, anchored off our harbour. Commodore Hardy sent off a boat with a flag; we met him with another from the shore, when the officer of the flag handed me a note from Commodore Hardy, informing me, that one hour was given the unoffending inhabitants, before the town would be destroyed.

We returned to the shore, where all the male inhabitants were collected,

Mystic river is a good harbour for vessels of not more than sixty tons; but they are loaded a mile and a half below the

when I read the note aloud. They all exclaimed they would defend the place to the last extremity, and if it was destroyed they would be buried in its ruins.

We repaired to a small battery we had hove up, nailed our colours to the flag-staff, while others lined the shore with their muskets.

At about seven in the evening they put off five barges and a large launch, carrying from thirty-two to nine pound carronades in their bows, and opened their fire from the shipping with bombs, carcasses, rockets, round grape and cannister shot, and sent their boats to land under cover of their fire. We let them come within small grape distance, when we opened our fire upon them from our two eighteen pounders with round and grape shot. They soon retreated out of grape distance, and attempted a landing on the east side of the village. We dragged a six pounder that we had mounted over, and met them with grape; and all our muskets opened a fire upon them, so that they were willing to retreat the second time. They continued their fire till eleven at night.

The next morning, the brig Despatch anchored within pistol shot of our battery, and they sent five barges and two large launches to land under cover of their whole fire (being joined by the Nimrod twenty gun brig). When the boats approached within grape distance, we opened our fire upon them with round and grape shot; they retreated and came round the east side of the town. We checked them with our six pounder and muskets, till we dragged over one of our eighteen pounders. We put in a round shot, and about forty or fifty pounds of grape, and placed it in the centre of their boats, as they were rowing up in a line and firing on us; we tore one of their barges all in pieces, so that two, one on each side, had to lash her up to keep her from sinking. They retreated out of grape distance, and we turned our fire upon the brig, and expended all our cartridges but five, which we reserved for the boats, if they made another attempt to land. We then lay four hours without being able to annoy the enemy in the least, except from muskets on the brig, while the fire of their whole fleet was directed against our buildings. After the third express to New-London, some fixed ammunition arrived; we then turned our cannon on the brig, and she soon cut her cable and drifted out.

The whole fleet then weighed, and anchored nearly out of reach of our shot, and continued this and the next day to bombard the town.

They set the buildings on fire in more than twenty places; and we as often put them out. In the three days' bombardment they sent on shore more than sixty tons of metal, and, strange to tell, wounded only one man, since dead. We have picked up fifteen tons, including some that was taken up out of the water, and the three anchors that we got. We took up and buried four poor fellows that were hove overboard out of the sinking barge.

Since peace, the officers of the Despatch brig have been on shore here. They acknowledge they had twenty-one killed, and fifty badly wounded; and further say, had we continued our fire any longer they should have

settlement, at Packer's ferry. Paukatuck has a crooked channel, admitting small vessels only. Even these are loaded at a considerable distance below the bridge. Those which are larger take in their lading at Stonington Point, appropriately called the Port.

Between forty and fifty vessels (coasters, fishermen, and others) are owned in Stonington. The cod fishery is by far the most profitable business done here. It is chiefly carried on at Green Island and the straits of Belleisle, and has been uniformly prosperous. The West-Indian business has been generally unprosperous.

A considerable number of Indians reside in this township also, and possess a tract of land on and about Lanthern-hill, in the northern part of the township, and the most elevated spot in this region. Here some of them live in weekwams, and others in houses resembling poor cottages; at the best small, ragged, and unhealthy. Others, still, live on the farms of the white inhabitants, in houses built purposely for them, and pay their rent by daily labour. Two-thirds of them are supposed to be contained in the Indian families, the remaining third are employed in the service of the farmers. One-half of the former division live on the lands reserved for them. These are held in fee simple, and cannot be disposed of without the consent of the legislature or of the overseer.

The whole body of these Indians are a poor, degraded, miserable race of beings. The former proud, heroic spirit of the Pequod, terrible even to other proud, heroic spirits around him, is shrunk into the tameness and torpor of reasoning brutism. All the vice of the original is left: all its energy has vanished. They are lazy in the extreme; and never labour, unless compelled by necessity. Nor are they less prodigal than lazy. The earnings of a year, hardly as they are acquired, they will spend in a day, without a thought of the morrow. Wherever they can obtain credit, they involve themselves in debt; and never dream of paying their debts,

struck, for they were in a sinking condition, for the wind blew south-west directly into the harbour. All the shot suitable for the cannon we have reserved. We have now more eighteen pound shot than was sent us by government. We have put the two cannon into the arsenal, and housed all the munitions of war."

unless under the iron hand of law. Thieves they are of course, but have too little enterprise to steal any thing of importance. It is hardly necessary to observe, that they are liars. They have no such thing among them as marriage; but cohabit without ceremony or covenant, and desert each other at pleasure. Their children, when young, they place in English families as servants. In the earlier parts of life these children frequently behave well; but, when grown up, throw off all that is respectable in their character, and sink to the level of their relatives. Some of them, when hired as labourers and servants, are tolerably industrious, from a conviction that they cannot safely be indolent. The rest, and even these when not employed, doze away life in uniform sloth and stupidity. To strong drink their devotion is complete; and for ardent spirits, or cider, they will part with every thing which they possess. Generally, they are healthy; but, when sick, seem in a great measure to be beyond the reach of medicine. Those, who live by themselves, are half-naked, and often half-starved.

The Indian, in a savage state, spent life chiefly in roving; but he roved in pursuit of the deer, the bear, the wolf, or his enemy. A high sense of glory, an ardent passion for achievement, a proud consciousness of independence, and a masculine spirit of exertion were the prominent features of his character. He had customarily an object before him; in his view great, useful, and honourable. He had, therefore, powerful motives to rouse his faculties into action. When he had not, he either spent his time in violent gambling, in which, like the polished adventurers of civilized society, he hazarded and lost his all; even his blanket and his gun; or, when he could not gamble, dozed away life in precisely the same paralytic inactivity, which is so remarkable in his tamed countrymen.

The Indian of the latter character lounges, saunters, gets drunk, eats when he can find food, and lies down to sleep under the nearest fence. Without any present or future object in view, without proposing any advantage to himself, or feeling any interest in what is proposed by others, he leads the life, not of a man, but of a snail; and is rather a moving vegetable than a rational being.

To these remarks there are some exceptions. The women,

who live in English families, retain at times a degree of that fondness for dress, so remarkable and universal among such as still continue in a savage state. Those who are educated in these families are often seen at church. A small number, also, of both men and women are reputed to be honest, and are, therefore, safely believed to merit this character.

But the most remarkable exception is the following: at the settlement above-mentioned lives an aged Indian, who possesses a considerable share of understanding. This man, for a series of years, has occasionally preached to them, and is said to give them useful exhortations. At times, they very generally assemble to hear his discourses, and hold him in much respect; a strong proof that human nature, in its lowest degradation of ignorance and vice, feels irresistibly the distinction between worth and the want of it, and renders, almost instinctively, its homage to virtue.

If any thing is necessary to complete the miserable and melancholy picture, it is this additional feature, that not one of the rising generation appears to aim, even remotely, at any higher character.

You have, here, an account of that very state of society, which is preferred and extolled by Godwin as the perfection of man. Here the human race, as nearly as possible, are without the restraint of law, morals, or religion. At the same time they are free in the fullest sense. No private individual possesses or exercises any power to control their conduct; and the government of Connecticut, either from despair of doing them any good, or from the unwillingness of its magistrates to execute law among these people, seems, in a manner which I cannot justify, to have resigned them to the dictates of their own passions and appetites. Flagrant breaches of law would undoubtedly be punished in them as in others. At least such as respected property, life, or limb. But few or no exertions have for a long time been made to restrain their commission of inferior crimes, and to these crimes alone do they appear at present to have any strong propensity; *i. e.* as they estimate crimes, for lewdness seems not to be considered by them as criminal. Ordinarily, they do just what they please.

Promiscuous concubinage also, Godwin's great and favourite

step towards perfection, they practice in the most unlimited manner. Nor are they less perfectly possessed of his other two essential ingredients in the constitution of his happy society. Why then are they not perfect and happy?

There are two great reasons to be assigned as an answer to this question, both of which have escaped this hoodwinked philosopher. The first is, that human depravity, or, in other words, sin, has no tendency to make a happy society; but, among all intelligent beings, will always render the social state unhappy, in exact proportion to the degree in which it exists. The other is, that labour is the only source of those enjoyments, which make up what Godwin calls happiness, and that, without the dominion of law, which alone secures to man the benefit of his efforts, no human being will labour. Godwin and his associates feel as if themselves should be happier if they were freed from the restraints which I have mentioned; not mistrusting, that without them others, enjoying the same licentiousness of disposition, and the same impunity in indulging it, would plunder them of liberty, property, and life. Equally are they insensible, that without the protection of law none would labour, and no part of those enjoyments, on which they riot, be brought into existence. Without law, religion, and morals, they might indeed be fornicators and adulterers, thieves and assassins, but they would be beggars and vagabonds. The very wickedness which prompted Godwin to write his books, and which he has poured out upon almost every page with a portentous turpitude, would render all around him as hostile to him as he is to religion, morals, and government, and make whatever he thought his own rights the tennis-ball of injustice and cruelty. In addition to all this, and in defiance of the sagacious calculations of one of his pretended answerers, population, instead of being increased, would rapidly decay. These Indians have continually declined in their numbers, notwithstanding their decrease has been checked by their cohabitation with the blacks. Where the fruits of no man's labour are secured; where no man has acknowledged children to labour for; where, according to the wish of Godwin, every child is without a known father, and possessed of a casual instead of a family name, no man will labour. He, who is willing to be industrious, seeing all his

earnings destined to become the prey of strangers and enemies, of sloth and villainy, will retire from the hopeless pursuit with disdain, and consent to starve with the multitude, rather than toil for wretches, whom it must be difficult not to hate, and impossible not to despise. What a pity it is that Godwin, and all who relish his doctrines, should not obtain the privilege of sharing in the dignity and happiness enjoyed in this state of human perfection!

The great calamity experienced by these Indians, and by all other people in the like circumstances, is this: within the horizon of their thought not a single motive arises, not a single inducement is visible, which might awaken their dozing energy, or prompt them to any useful effort. Man, without motives to exertion, is a beast or a log; with them, he can become an Alfred or a Paul. But the motives must be such as he is fitted to feel; and Indians, without greater exertions in their behalf than those which have hitherto been made, will never feel, nor even comprehend, such motives as influence civilized man. The great hindrance to their improvement does not lie, as some dreaming European philosophers have supposed, in the inferiority of their minds. Their minds are natively of the same structure with those of Frenchmen or Englishmen. This position is completely proved by the fact, that the children of Americans, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen, when captivated by them in early life, become mere Indians, distinguishable in nothing, except a small difference of colour, from the native savages. Not one of them ever discovered half the capacity, or rose to half the distinction, which the history written by white men records of Miantonimoh, Philip, Sassacus, Uncas, or the great Hendrick. Nay, the Canadian descendants of the French peasantry are many of them inferior in every respect to the aborigines. The philosophy of Buffon, therefore, of De Pauw and various others concerning this subject, would have been better spared; for it is unsupported even by the shadow of a reason, or a fact. The real cause of all this degradation in the Indian is the want of such motives to exertion as he is prepared to feel within the view of his mind. The only cause of human distinction, also, is the existence of such motives. Where nothing prompts to action, nothing will be done; where sufficient inducements are presented, every thing will be done

which is within the grasp of human power. When motives cease to operate and excite, man will lounge away life; saunter from place to place without knowing why; dress himself in a blanket; seat himself upon a stone; smoke through the day at the door of a weekwam; or stretch himself to sleep under the nearest hedge. When motives arouse him to exertion, he will cross unknown oceans to discover new countries; coast the polar ice to attack the whale; ascend the Andes to measure the equatorial latitude; ransack the bowels of the earth to enlarge the science of mineralogy; imprison himself in a cell for seven years to obtain the palm of eloquence; face the fangs of the catamount or the tiger, to be called the best huntsman; toil through life to accumulate an inheritance for his children; or fight battles, or slaughter millions, to wreathe upon his brow the garland of triumph. With sufficient motives, also, he will resist temptation; subdue his lusts; expend his substance; and yield his life for the cause of Christianity, the salvation of men, and the glory of the Redeemer.

The Indian, when passing from savage ferocity into quiet life, undergoes this transmigration with the most unfavourable circumstances. All the considerations by which he was formerly influenced are cut off, and no new ones are introduced to his view. War and hunting, wisdom in council, and eloquence in debate, the only objects of his former ambition, and the sources of all his former glory, vanish at once. To them nothing succeeds which presents him a single allurement. He hates labour, and is therefore poor. But among civilized people poverty is, in the common opinion, only another name for disgrace. For reflection and study he is utterly unqualified; from the want, not of capacity, but of inclination. Labour and thought, therefore, being both odious, and in his view contemptible, he is at the outset precluded from attempting either. But with these, all motives which prompt to any exertion in civilized life are inseparably connected. Hence his mind is left to the government of instinct, and the remaining influence of his former habits. In this manner he sinks down to the state of a mere animal, and in his mode of life resembles a brute more than a man. Ardent spirits in this case vary the dull course of his feelings with a pleasure, derived from nothing else, and therefore peculiarly agreeable. The pool, sluggish and dead, is for a moment brushed by an

agitating breeze; but, when it is past, the broken scum unites, and resumes its former appearance of loathsome and noxious stagnation.

Savages can be successfully changed into civilized men only in two modes. Christianity, by establishing a sense of duty to God, always conveys with it motives capable of prompting the soul to any thing which it commands; such as the attainment of mental peace, the approbation of God, the esteem of good men, safety from perdition, and a title to eternal life. Even Indians, under its influence, have in many instances exhibited fair specimens of virtuous and commendable conduct. In spite of all their habits, they have employed themselves in useful business; and, in spite of their ignorance and errors, have acquired the esteem of Christians. If Indians are to be civilized without the immediate influence of Christianity, the work must be accomplished in such a manner, that they must not cease to feel the motives which produced their former conduct, until they have begun to feel new ones; that they shall be engaged by new objects of allurement before they have bidden a final adieu to the old; and that they shall not lose the sense and hope of reputation, while passing through the metamorphosis by which they are changed from savages into citizens. An Indian, hopelessly sunk below the possession and the attainment of character, can never, without an exertion of Omnipotence, cease to be an Indian; *i. e.* a sloth, a sot, and a vagabond.

The only passion, which can be immediately substituted for the Indian love of glory, is that which has been substituted in every civilized nation; *viz.* the love of property. Wherever this can be established, Indians may be civilized: wherever it cannot, they will still remain Indians. The belief, that our exertions will promote our benefit and our consequence, will ever stimulate us to exertion. Without this belief, the great body of mankind will not exert themselves at all.

If the period should ever arrive, in which the inhabitants of the United States should set themselves in earnest to do good to this miserable people; and under a sense of obligations, which can neither be denied nor lessened, should seriously attempt to make them comfortable, virtuous, and useful, here, and happy hereafter; common sense will require, that such of them as remain in the English settlements should be gathered

on tracts, inhabited by themselves only. Those,* indeed, who are to be the immediate agents in accomplishing this object, must reside with them, but no others. The contempt which this degraded people will always experience from us, and the sense of their own degradation and our superiority, will for ever keep them in their present state, if they are to remain dispersed among the English inhabitants. When they are by themselves, they will be equals; and may, therefore, imbibe gradually a sense of personal character. Until this can be accomplished, nothing can be done, unless they can be persuaded cordially to embrace Christianity. Concerning this subject I may have opportunity to make some observations to you hereafter.

The inhabitants of Stonington have suffered in their religious interests from their neighbourhood to Rhode-Island. There are six congregations in this town; three of them conposed of Baptists. The number of Baptist ministers I know not. There was no Congregational minister here; and the Baptist preachers were mere uneducated farmers or mechanics. Public worship therefore was either not celebrated at all, or celebrated in a forbidding and vulgar manner. Licentiousness always follows, instantly, the loss of public worship; and contempt for religion regularly follows the administration of it by ignorant men. Mankind are creatures of instruction, as well as of habit. When they are not taught, they will of course be ignorant; and when they are not admonished and reproved, they will of course be loose. The inquiries which I made concerning this town, of persons whose respectability could not be questioned, terminated in satisfactory evidence, that although there were some religious, and many respectable people here, yet, by the mass of inhabitants, religion was little regarded, and the standard of morals low; facts but too common along this border of Connecticut*.

In the year 1756, Stonington contained 3,518 inhabitants; blacks, 200; Indians, 365: in 1774, 5,412; blacks, 219; Indians, 245: in 1790, 5,648; in 1800, 5,437; blacks, 42: and, in 1810, 3,043. The same year, North-Stonington contained 2,534: total, 5,577.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Within a few years past a respectable minister has been settled in Stonington.

LETTER V.

Westerly. Charlestown. South-Kingston. Aboriginal Tribes formerly inhabiting New-England. Their Population. Number of Warriors, as estimated by General Gookin. War with the Narrhagansetts. Attack and Capture of their Fortress. Gallant Conduct of Captain Denison and others. Death of Nauntenoo.

DEAR SIR;

SATURDAY, September 20th, we left the hospitable house of Mr. D———, and rode to Newport through Westerly, Charlestown, South-Kingston, and Jamestown on Canonicut island; thirty-eight miles.

About two miles from Mr. D———'s we crossed Paukatuc river, which divides Connecticut from Rhode-Island, and Stonington from Westerly. At the bridge there is a pretty village, principally in Westerly, containing perhaps twenty houses. In this village a bank has lately been established with a capital of 100,000 dollars, which may be increased to 150,000.

Paukatuc river forms the only harbour in Westerly, and furnishes excellent fisheries for bass, eels, black-fish, shad, and herrings. In the bay, which is formed at its mouth, these kinds of fish are caught in as great abundance as perhaps in any part of New-England. Long and round clams, also, oysters, and a little farther out in the Sound lobsters, are found in great numbers.

The land in this township is divided into two kinds. The border of the Sound, which is generally good, and that in the interior, which is a collection of hills, stony, sandy, and lean, originally covered with shrub oaks and pitch pines. This ground, which constitutes a considerable part of the township,

produces scarcely any thing, beside small crops of rye. On the former of these tracts the inhabitants are generally in good circumstances. On the latter, though said to be industrious, they are generally, and indeed necessarily, poor and unthrifty. Except the village above-mentioned, Westerly is a collection of farms.

There is a good common school near the bridge, styled an academy. There are several other schools in the township, as much inferior to this as the parochial schools in other parts of New-England are to the academies.

Immediately after leaving Paukatuc village, a traveller is struck with the sudden change of the whole artificial scenery. The houses, a few excepted, are small, old, and ragged. The barns vanish, and the tidy, thrifty appearance of Connecticut ceases. Every thing indicates a want of energy; a destitution of all views and efforts towards improvement; a sluggish acquiescence in inconveniences and imperfections, which a more vigorous disposition would easily remove.

About one-fourth of the people of Westerly are supposed to be Sabbatarians, or seventh-day Baptists. Some of these people appear to be religious, and are more distinguished by good morals than most of their neighbours. The remainder are chiefly Baptists.

Charlestown resembles Westerly in soil and surface, in its houses and inhabitants. The lands on the Sound are, however, more beautiful and more fertile, consisting of smooth, easy slopes, and handsome plains, divided into spacious fields, and fed by fine herds of cattle. The season was now remarkably dry, yet there were sufficient proofs of the fertility of these grounds. A great part of the houses are ill-built, misshapen, and unrepaired; and exhibit an absolute want of both taste and economy. The people of Charlestown, who live on the Sound lands, appear to be in good circumstances, and furnish for exportation a considerable quantity of beef, butter, and cheese; all in good reputation. The whole of this tract seems to have reached the highest point of improvement, aimed at by the inhabitants, and to be either stationary or declining. Their products, their houses, their manners, and their enjoyments, are much the same as they were fifty years ago, and as they probably will be fifty years to come.

In the southern part of this township is a pond, called Pauwaget, or Charlestown pond, and part of another called Conaquotoag, the remaining part being in Westerly. The former is about four miles in length, and extensively visible along this road. It is separated from the Sound by a narrow beach, through which several passages have been made for the admission of fish. In these two ponds, and several others in Westerly, Charlestown, and South-Kingston, immense numbers of streaked bass, and various other kinds of fish, are caught annually.

Westerly contained, in 1790, 2,298 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,329; and, in 1810, 1,911*.

Charlestown, in 1790, contained 2,022 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,454; and, in 1810, 1,174. This extraordinary decrease I am unable to explain.

On the north side of the road through both Westerly and Charlestown the ranges of hills, which are numerous and sudden, terminate either immediately on the road, or at a small distance, presenting to the eye their rough, ragged ends, covered with sands, or loaded with a dismal collection of naked rocks. Desolate and barren grounds are often scenes of romantic wildness and grandeur; here they were objects of mere disgust.

About ten miles from Newport the road turns directly northward round a handsome hill, and winds along its eastern margin by the side of a river. At the end of two or three miles it turns eastward again, and crossing the river ascends a beautiful slope, and descends another of the same appearance to Canonicut ferry.

The whole of South-Kingston, the next township to Charlestown, so far as it is visible in the road, is pleasant and fertile. The surface is extensively undulating. The hills rise and fall with great ease and elegance, and are rounded with lines peculiarly flowing and graceful. The inhabitants appeared to be prosperous, and the agriculture superior to what we had before seen in this state. In 1790, this township contained 4,131 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,438; and, in 1810, 3,560.

The flat country in these three townships is appropriately called Narrhaganset, or the Narrhaganset country.

* Westerly was the principal seat of Ninigret, one of the two chief sachems of the Narrhagansets.

The Honourable Major-General Gookin, who has left, in many particulars, the best ancient account extant of the natives of this country, informs us, that, originally, five principal Indian nations occupied the chief part of New-England. The limits of this country on the north and west, were, at that time, imperfectly defined. The tracts, assigned to these five nations by Mr. Gookin, amount, also, to less than one half of the present New-England. We are, therefore, to understand this account with important qualifications.

The Pequods are the first of these nations. The jurisdiction of this people spread over the country, commencing about five miles east of Paukatuc river, at a place called Wecapaug, in the township of Westerly, and terminating near the western boundary of Connecticut. Mr. Gookin observes, that their sachem held dominion over a part of Long-Island, the Moheagans, the Segamores of Quinipeake (Quinipiac, or New-Haven), the people on Connecticut river, and over the most southerly inhabitants of the Nipmuc country about Quinibaug, the southern part of the county of Worcester. The country, inhabited by the Pequods, has been already pointed out.

The second of these nations was the Narrhagansets, who inhabited most of the country which is now the state of Rhode-Island, and had also several tributaries.

The third nation was the Pawkunnakuts or Wampanoags, who inhabited the three counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, or the old colony of Plymouth.

The fourth of these nations was the Massachusetts, who occupied the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Middlesex, and probably the eastern border of Worcester.

The fifth nation was the Pawtuckets, who lived in the county of Essex, the northern part of Middlesex, and the county of Rockingham, in New-Hampshire.

The two last of these nations I suppose to have been comprehended under the common name of Aberginians.

To these nations may be added the Nipmucs, or Nipnets, who occupied the county of Worcester, and were extensively tributary to the three first, which have been mentioned; the Mohekaneews, who extended their jurisdiction over the counties of Berkshire, in Massachusetts; Columbia, Rensselaer, a part of Washington, Ulster, Albany, and Saratoga in the

State of New-York; and the county of Bennington in Vermont; and the Tarrateens, who possessed a great part of the district of Maine.

Westward of these nations, and bordering upon them, were the Iroquois. These I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

The comparative strength of these chief nations, as declared by the oldest Indians in Mr. Gookin's time, was as follows:—

	Warriors, when most numerous.
The Pequods	4,000
Narrhagansets	5,000
Pawkunnakuts	3,000
Massachusetts	3,000
Pawtuckets	3,000
Nipnets, probably	1,000
Mohekaneews	1,000

From the smallness of the number of children, who survive their childhood, and the universal devotion to war among the savages of this country, which makes every man a warrior as early and as late as he can possibly employ himself in this business, it may be safely determined, that one person out of four is a warrior. The whole number of these nations, therefore, at the time of their greatest known prosperity, may be safely considered as within the following enumeration:—

The Pequods	16,000
Narrhagansets	20,000
Pawkunnakuts	12,000
Massachusetts	12,000
Pawtuckets	12,000
Nipnets	4,000
Mohekaneews	4,000
Total	80,000

This population covered between thirty and forty thousand square miles, and may be considered as the acme of Indian population; for there is no tract of country, equally distant from the equator, which could boast of so many advantages, or furnish equal means of subsistence to man, living in the Indian manner. It is believed, that one third, if not one half

of this population, was sustained on fish only. The Narrhagansets, whose country was much more populous than that, which was inhabited by any other of these tribes, were proprietors of the best fishing grounds; *i. e.* for such fish, as Indians were able to take, furnished by the continent of North America. From this source was derived the uncommon populousness of the Narrhaganset territory.

In the numbers, mentioned above, are intentionally included all the subordinate and tributary tribes; who, as I apprehend, being either obliged or voluntarily inclined to take the field with their lords paramount, were customarily reckoned in the number of their warriors. These numbers are given, as I have observed, according to the accounts of the oldest Indians within the knowledge of General Gookin. My own opinion is, that they are most, if not all, exaggerated. Seventy thousand, or two to a square mile, would, I am satisfied, include every Indian, living on this tract, at any preceding period.

The Narrhagansets were undoubtedly the most formidable tribe in New-England after the Pequods. I have observed, that their dread of the Pequods prevented them from uniting in the scheme of exterminating the people of New-England, proposed by Saccacus in 1637. Their dread of the English colonists prevented them from openly uniting with Philip, who formed the same design, and attempted to execute it in the year 1675. Still they favoured his enterprise; and entertained his warriors with a hospitality, which contradicted both their professions and their treaties. Their warriors, also, went into the field with this chieftain; and took their share in his battles, murders, and conflagrations. Satisfied of these facts, the commissioners of the united colonies resolved, in the month of November, 1675, on an expedition against these people; and for this purpose directed an army of a thousand men to be immediately raised. Of these, Massachusetts was to furnish 527; Plymouth, 158; and Connecticut, 315. Connecticut, however, sent 300 soldiers, and 150 Moheagans and Pequods. Major Treat commanded the Connecticut troops; Major Bradford, those of Plymouth; and Major Appleton, those of Massachusetts. Mr. Winslow, governor of Plymouth, commanded the whole. The Massachusetts and Plymouth

troops rendezvoused at Wickford, in North Kingston, on the western side of Narrhaganset Bay, about twenty-four miles south of Providence, the 12th of December, and commenced some desultory hostilities upon the enemy. On the 17th, the Connecticut forces arrived at Petty Squamscot; which, from a number of circumstances, I conclude to be South Kingston.

On the 18th they were joined by their friends from Plymouth and Massachusetts. The night following was tempestuous and very cold. The snow fell to a considerable depth; and the army was without a shelter. Very early in the morning of the 19th they marched against the enemy, embodied in a swamp, which I suppose to be that called Indian swamp, in the northern part of Charlestown. In the deep and thick recesses of this dismal place was an island, containing five or six acres of ground, enclosed with palisadoes. Here the Narrhaganset warriors, above two thousand in number, armed with one thousand muskets, beside bows and arrows, furnished with ammunition, and possessed of skill to use them, had collected their whole strength, together with their women and children, and their winter's stock of provisions. One of these people, named Peter, had quarrelled with his countrymen, and fallen into the hands of the colonists. This man promised to guide them to the fortress, and punctually fulfilled his promise. The Massachusetts led the van; those of Plymouth occupied the centre; and those of Connecticut the rear.

Fifteen miles this band of heroes waded through the snow, between the dawn and one o'clock P. M. They reached the fort while their enemies were employed in dressing their dinner, without a suspicion of their approach. The New-England forces could discover but one entrance into the fort; and this was on a log, felled across the exterior ditch. The palisado was inclosed by what Hubbard calls "a hedge, of almost a rod in thickness." This I suppose to have been a collection of bushes, and branches of trees, laid closely without the wall. To force a passage through it, you will easily see, was in these circumstances a work of too much time, difficulty, and danger: particularly, as the alarm was given by a small party of the enemy, whom the army had met in the swamp.

and driven before them into the fort. From this embarrassment they were delivered by Peter, who led them to another opening. Here some trees, lying loosely as they fell, obstructed their course; and a block-house, directly in front, threatened them with destruction. The passage, however, was possible; and they attempted it without hesitation: but the fire from the block-house was so great, and so well directed, that they were compelled to fall back. The attempt was immediately renewed, notwithstanding they lost a number of men in the onset, and, among others, Captains Johnson and Davenport, who fell while they were fighting gallantly at the head of their companies.

During this struggle the Connecticut troops became impatient of their situation in the rear; but found it impossible to act with any advantage against the enemy, as the main body of the army was between them and the fort. A part of them, therefore, moved round to the opposite side, and forced their way, over the hedge, through a gap in the palisado. The Indians were so occupied in defending the entrance, where the Massachusetts' people began the assault, that these men crossed the hedge, and came upon their rear unobserved. Here they poured upon them a well-directed fire. Every man took aim; and every man was a marksman. The execution, therefore, was great.

Just at this time some of the officers, commanding the main body of the Colonial army, cried out, "They run." At the word the soldiers pushed their enemies with increased vigour, and compelled them from their shelter. The contest then became still more violent: but it was now carried on in the open field; and was therefore more destructive to the Indians, and less so to the New-England forces. The battle lasted from two to three hours; and ended in the expulsion of the enemy from the fort. The soldiers in the mean time set fire to their weekwams, and destroyed them.

Three of the Massachusetts captains, Johnson, Davenport, and Gardiner; and three of the Connecticut captains, Seely, Gallup, and Marshall, were killed outright. Captain Mason of Connecticut, and Lieutenant Upham of Massachusetts, died of their wounds. The killed and wounded soldiers amounted to two hundred and ten. Eighty of these died,

either on the field, or soon after the battle; forty belonging to Connecticut, thirty to Massachusetts, and ten to Plymouth. The loss of the Indians, according to the confession of Potock, one of their principal men, taken afterwards at Rhode-Island, amounted to seven hundred killed outright, and three hundred more who died of their wounds. Six hundred men, women, and children, were taken prisoners. The whole number of the savages in the fort is supposed to have been four thousand. The remainder escaped.

After the battle, the New-England troops marched immediately back to their former places of rendezvous; carrying with them their wounded, and most of their dead. Their march lay through a pathless wilderness. The frost was severe, and the snow so deep, that they were scarcely able the next day to move at all. To these inclemencies the wounded were exposed, equally with the rest.

The Connecticut troops having suffered very severely from their march, as well as from the conflict and the succeeding hardships, it was thought proper, that they should return immediately to Stonington. The Massachusetts forces, together with those of Plymouth, took up their head quarters in the neighbourhood; and by destroying the provisions of the Indians, frequently alarming them, captivating some, and killing others, distressed them not a little.

Few events in the annals of war have exhibited more honourable proofs of patience and fortitude under severe sufferings, or of gallantry and firmness in battle, than this enterprise. The enemy greatly outnumbered the New-England army; and in numbers, not less than theirs, were furnished with fire arms. They were at the same time immured in a fastness, and defended by a fortification, in the highest degree favourable to the Indian manner of fighting: being secured in a great measure from the view of their enemies; while their enemies were perfectly open to them. The savages were brave, and desperate: for they fought near three hours, and until half of their warriors fell. The New-England army, also, lost early in the engagement the greater part of their principal officers. Marching through snow, even of a moderate depth, is attended with excessive fatigue; and to be exposed night after night to repeated snow storms, and severe

frosts, has of itself been often fatal. All these evils were accumulated upon the New-England troops in a deep forest; and were borne without a fear, a murmur, or a thought of returning before the purpose was accomplished. Not a single instance of cowardice, impatience, or dishonour, is left on record. The officers and men, without an exception, suffered, fought, and endured, as a band of brothers. When all the circumstances are considered, I am satisfied, that it will be difficult to point out in the history of mankind a fairer specimen of heroism or of fortitude.

The great reason for undertaking this enterprise, beside the treachery of the Narrhagansets, was the extreme danger apprehended from their inroads upon the colonies in the ensuing spring. The commissioners certainly acted very wisely in determining to attack them before the commencement of their hostilities. They had already proved themselves to be determined enemies; and were waiting only for an advantageous opportunity to invade the colonies. Had they been let alone till the ensuing season, they would undoubtedly have destroyed great multitudes of the New-England people; great multitudes, I mean, more than they actually destroyed. The colonial troops marched at the critical moment. A snow first, which immediately after fell to a great depth; and then a thaw, which dissolved the snow, and filled the low grounds with water; would have rendered it impossible for them to reach the enemy, until the season was too far advanced to allow the hope of any important success. On the whole, Providence smiled on the undertaking in many important particulars, every one of which seems to have been indispensable to its success.

In the ensuing spring the remainder of this people, joining themselves to Philip and his associates in different parts of New-England, destroyed many of the towns, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants.

In the month of March, Captain George Denison, of Stonington, one of the bravest and most skilful of partisans, made a successful incursion into the Narrhaganset country; where he surprised and seized Nanuntenoo, son of Miantonimoh, and the chief sachem of this people. He was offered his life upon condition of living in peace with the colonists: but he

received the offer with disdain; and would not permit any intercession to be made for his life; declaring, with a loftiness of mind, which would have been admired in a Grecian hero, that he chose to die before his heart became soft, and before he had uttered any thing unworthy of his character.

In the course of this season, Denison, with his volunteers, killed and took, in several expeditions, 230 of the enemy, without having one man either killed or wounded. This fact, which in any circumstances would have been extraordinary, was here astonishing; for the Indians are the most exact marksmen in the world*. During the whole of this season Philip and his associates were everywhere pursued, throughout the different parts of the country, by Major Talcott, Captain Denison, Captain Church, and many other gallant officers and men, without intermission. Parties everywhere scoured the country, and left the Indians neither safety nor rest. In August, Philip, the source and soul of the war, was surprised and shot by an Indian, one of the soldiers of Captain Church. With him the hopes and exertions of the enemy in the southern half of New-England expired. Peace was established the following year. There were, a few years since, remaining in the country several hundred of the descendants of these people, and of their neighbours, the eastern Nianticks. I know nothing in their character or circumstances, which distinguished them from the Indians of Stonington.

I am, Sir, &c.

* The brave actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough applauded. Denison's name ought to be perpetuated. The Narrhaganset fight had enraged the Indians, and made them desperate; and the English plantations, after that, were in greater terror than before; but this successful hunting them, and ferreting them out of their burrows, sunk and broke their spirits, and seems to have determined the fate of the English and Indians, which until then was doubtful and uncertain.—Hutchinson, vol. i, page 276.

LETTER VI.

Canonicut Island. Newport; its Buildings, Harbour, and Fortifications. Proposition of the French Government relative to the Occupancy of Newport. Remarkable Cliffs and Chasm. Enumeration of the Fish brought to this Market. Healthfulness and Commerce of Newport. Its Settlement.

DEAR SIR;

WE crossed Canonicut ferry, lying between what is here called Boston neck and that island; and then rode across the island, one mile in breadth, to Newport ferry.

Canonicut is a beautiful island, sloping with great elegance from the middle to the shores. All the lines of its surface are graceful, and the soil is rich. It is about seven miles long from north to south, and includes a single township, incorporated in 1678 by the name of Jamestown, which, in 1790, contained 507 inhabitants; in 1800, 501; and, in 1810, 504.

The prospects from the highest part of this island are uncommonly handsome.

We crossed Newport ferry, between Canonicut and the island of Rhode-Island, more rapidly than either of us wished; and arrived at 7 o'clock.

The next day, Sunday, September 21st, we attended divine service in the Rev. Mr. Patten's church. Monday and Tuesday morning we spent in examining the town, the fortifications in the harbour, the remains of the British works erected during the revolutionary war, and several other objects in the neighbourhood.

Newport is built near the southern end of the island of Rhode-Island, upon the western shore. Its site is a beautiful slope, rising from the water to the eastern side of the town. It is unnecessary to observe, after what has been repeat-

edly said upon this subject, that it is irregularly laid out, like most other towns in the United States. The streets, except Main Street, which is a mile in length, straight and wide, are narrow. Almost all the houses are built of wood; few comparatively are painted; many are out of repair, and many stand endwise upon the street. The town strikes the eye of a traveller, therefore, much less agreeably than he would naturally expect from the figure which it has long made in the history and commerce of this country. To most of the houses are attached small, and to a considerable number large gardens, which diffuse a cheerful sprightly aspect around them. The good houses, of which there is a considerable number, are scattered, and frequently illuminate spots, which would be otherwise absolutely gloomy. A few of them may be styled handsome.

Newport contains ten buildings erected for public worship, of which the Baptists have four, the Presbyterians two, the Episcopalians, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, one each. Of these buildings the best is the Episcopal church; but even this appears old and neglected. There is also an academy, a library, a court-house, and a gaol. The court-house is a decent building. The library was formerly valuable; but many of the books were lost or carried away, and many more were injured, while the British were in possession of the town.

The harbour of Newport is deep, and sufficiently capacious, to admit any number of vessels of any size, which will probably ever be assembled in one body. Indeed, all the waters which encompass this island, except those on the south, may be regarded as one vast harbour. The anchorage is very good. The egress and ingress are perfectly easy, and its position is in the highest degree favourable for the commerce of the east and of the south.

Fortifications were begun here under the auspices of President Adams, who intended this place as a station for the future American navy. They consist of six different erections, one on Goat-Island, one on Rose-Island, one on Canonicut, at the point called the Dumplings, two on Rhode-Island, and one on another island. These are all parts of a great scheme, intended to affect and control the harbour and its entrances; and, it has been supposed, will be sufficient for this purpose.

Of this subject I am a very incompetent judge, yet I cannot but confess myself doubtful concerning it.

I was never so struck with the insidiousness of the proposal, made by the French government, to have this island and harbour ceded to them by congress, as at this time. Congress, indeed, had it not in their power to alienate any part of the territory of any state. The arguments adduced by the French, to persuade congress to a compliance with their wishes, were, that a French fleet, being kept here, with a considerable body of land forces, would prevent the island from being seized anew by Great Britain, and preclude the British from a harbour on our coast, would be ready at all times, as an ally, to defend us in war, and would furnish a valuable market for our productions in peace. Had this story been told in plain English, it would have run thus:—Newport would furnish a convenient station for French ships at all times; and especially when France was at war with Great Britain, would enable the French to awe us in time of peace, and to distress us by harassing our coast, and destroying our trade in time of war; would furnish us with just such an ally as the man in the fable became to the horse, when he assisted him to drive off the stag; with masters, voluntarily invited by us, and kindly disposed to rule and ride us, according to their pleasure.

Soon after Mr. Jefferson's entrance upon the presidency, the fortifications in this harbour were discontinued. Any nation that pleases may, therefore, now occupy this advantageous spot, and will never be driven off from it by force, until the Americans shall have wisdom enough to raise up a fleet sufficient to command it on the side of the ocean.

The commerce of Newport was formerly extensive, but was destroyed in the revolutionary war. A part of the inhabitants were driven off, and the part which remained behind were not a little distressed by their invaders. The effects of these disasters are felt to the present time, and the town has never recovered its former prosperity. Before the revolution, also, the inhabitants carried on a brisk trade to the African coast. This has been prohibited by the national government, and has therefore been chiefly, though it is said not entirely, discontinued. A few individuals, with a laudable spirit of enterprise, have made several successful attempts in commercial business

of other kinds; and the spirit of the citizens, which seems to have been rather asleep than awake for some years past, is beginning to revive. Still an air of inactivity prevails here; and, though many of the inhabitants are said to be rich, few of them seem to be engaged in any active designs of adding to their property.

On Monday morning, D. Lyman, Esq., collector of this port, a gentleman to whom we were indebted for many civilities, accompanied us to the seat of the late Godfrey Malbone, Esq., now the property of Mr. William Rotch, of New-Bedford. The gardens appear to have been once well stored with fruit, and other productions. The spot is delightful; and the house originally included many conveniences, but its appearance must have been always indifferent. The farm, on which it stands, containing a thousand acres, is an object of great beauty and value.

From this place we proceeded to Tommany Hill, a little eastward of Mr. Malbone's house, on which the British built a fort, while they had possession of Newport. This is a fine eminence, commanding the best view of the island, the bay, the town, the neighbouring islands, the river far up towards Providence, and the opposite main.

In the afternoon I accompanied Major Lyman to the southern shore of the island. Here, at the distance of a mile and a half from the town, is a remarkable range of cliffs, formed of pudding-stone, exactly like that which abounds in the neighbourhood of Boston, particularly on the Dedham and Plymouth roads. These cliffs are forty feet in height, and contain a chasm six feet wide, one hundred and fifty feet long, measuring back from their front, and descending below the surface of the water to a depth which is unknown. The darkness, raggedness, and perpendicularity of this chasm give it an awful appearance, and have entailed upon it the emphatical name of Purgatory.

One of our American philosophers, whom Major Lyman conducted to this place some years since, and who observed that he had never before seen any thing which resembled these rocks, was asked what he thought concerning their origination. He answered, that they were undoubtedly derived from the petrifaction of vegetable matter. Upon being further asked

how long he supposed the progress of petrifaction had been going on, he replied, " probably a million of years, perhaps two million, and not improbably five or six. The period has undoubtedly been a very long one, but how long it is impossible to determine."

A plain man, in the exercise of mere common sense, would naturally have recollected, that vegetable matter contains in itself no principle of petrifaction; that whenever vegetables have been petrified, the induration has been invariably effected by means of some fluid existing in the earth or its waters; that no vegetable was ever known to be petrified while lying in a dry position on its surface; that vegetables are indeed capable of becoming mould; but that this mould, unless accumulated by rains or streams, does nowhere, even on this continent, where it seems to have been forming from the remotest period, exceed twenty-four inches in depth; and that, therefore, it cannot possibly have been accumulated here alone, to the depth of more than forty feet.

Such a man would also have asked, how this vegetable matter was originally formed, and afterwards petrified, beneath the surface of the ocean, where no terrene vegetable could possibly grow. He would next have inquired, how the plums (*i. e.* the pebbles, and other larger stones), often exceeding twelve inches in diameter, embosomed by this mass in numbers apparently infinite, could exist in petrified vegetable matter; whether they originally grew within the substance of plants, shrubs, and trees, or whether they were anciently (*i. e.* two or three millions of years ago) the kinds of fruit which they bore; or whether the cause of the petrifaction, proved by the uniformity of the embosoming mass to be perfectly simple, turned the vegetable matter, uniform also, partly into this mass, and partly into the plums, of which some are slate, some are quartz almost pure, some are granite, some are sandstone, and others are very different from each other, and from them all. If neither of these modes of explanation satisfied him, he would further ask, whether, when the first stratum of vegetable matter began to undergo the process of petrifaction, it lifted, by some unknown effort, the plums which were beneath above its upper surface, that they might be ready for the next stratum; and then another set of plums,

above the surface of the second, to be ready for the third; thus raising them through all the superincumbent strata, until, finally, the last collection was supplied for the stratum which was uppermost.

After making these inquiries, he would have recurred to his own observation, if it had extended so far, and recollected, that pudding stone exists at little distances in every part of this country; and that the embosoming mass always partakes of the nature, qualities, and appearances of the ground in which it is formed. He would recollect, that this mass is sometimes cemented loam, containing in it the same grit which is found in the adjoining earth; that in sand, it is a mere sand stone, differing from the surrounding sand in nothing but hardness; that in the soil called brick-mould, it varies from a brown, faintly shaded with red, to a red, approaching to crimson; and that in yellow earth, its hue is a variety of the same colour. He would remember also, that in its tenacity it varies from mere earth to the most solid rock; the parts being often so friable as to be easily pulverized between the thumb and finger; that they are often decomposed by the weather, and that in both these cases they become again the very earth, of which they were formed. He would remember also, that rocks of pudding-stone, both solid and stratified, of every form and every size, exist in the bowels of the earth, at every depth which has been explored, and in the bowels of mountains; and that they rise singly to a considerable height above the surface adjacent, so as to require for their formation, that the vegetable matter should be heaped up and confined in detached spots, in an extraordinary manner. Finally, he might be informed, that great mountains are chiefly composed of the same stone; to the formation of which, it must be admitted, a soil unusually productive, and a vegetation remarkably prolific, were indispensable. From all this a plain man would naturally conclude, especially as he always found the stones in the embosoming mass the very same, and lying in just such clusters as those imbedded in the earth around them, that pudding-stone is formed by the efficacy of a fluid, cementing and thus petrifying the earth; and that its substance was not vegetable matter.

The well-bred people of Newport have the same polished,

agreeable manners which prevail along the eastern coast of Massachusetts. The decay of business has produced here its customary consequences. The men of wealth live by loaning their money, without entering, in any great degree, into active, useful business. The poor people catch fish for their sustenance, and lounge and saunter for their pleasure. This state of things is unnecessary and unhappy.

Religion and morals are here not on a high scale. In the church, where we attended divine service, there were perhaps thirty persons present in the morning, and in the afternoon not more than sixty or seventy. The day was wet, but the streets are paved; the members of the congregation live at little distances from the church, and the minister is respected and beloved. I was informed, that in all the other churches, except one belonging to the Baptists, the attendance is usually thin.

The people of Newport are in general not very friendly to the college in Providence. For this, the following reason was mentioned to me. When the college was in projection, it was proposed to place it where the largest subscription should be obtained. Newport contributed the greatest sum, yet it was placed at Providence; and the resentment of the people of Newport has not subsided.

In a former part of these Letters I mentioned, that I would give some account of the fish found on the coasts of New-England. Newport is acknowledged to be the best fish-market in the United States. The following list of the fish, caught in the neighbouring waters, was furnished me by my friend Mr. S. of this town:—

*1. Alewife,
*2. Anchovy,
*3. Bass,
*4. Sea bass,
*5. Blue fish,
6. Brill,
*7. Bonetta,
8. Bill fish,
9. Chiving,
10. Cusk,
*11. Cauchogue
12. Cutfish,
13. Cravalley,
*14. Mud clam,
*15. Beach clam,
16. Cockle,
17. Conckle,
*18. Green crab,
19. Sand crab,
*20. Sea crab,
21. Spider crab,
22. King crab,

23. Running crab,
*24. Drum,
25. Dace,
26. Dog fish,
27. Egg fish,
*28. Sea eel,
29. Sand eel,
*30. Lamprey eel,
*31. Common eel,
*32. Flounder,
*33. Frost fish,
*34. Flying fish,
35. Grunt,
*36. Haddock,
*37. Hake,
*38. Halibut,
*39. English herring,
40. Lancet,
41. Limpet,
*42. Lobster,
43. Maid,
*44. Mullet,
*45. Black muscle,
*46. Pale muscle,
*47. Manhaden,
*48. Round mackarel,
*49. Small ditto,
*50. Spanish ditto,
*51. Large-horse ditto,
*52. Oyster,
*53. Plaice,
*54. Pout,
*55. Pike,
*56. Pumpkin fish,
*57. Pollock,
*58. Sea perch,
*59. Pond ditto,
60. Porpoise,
61. Periwinkle,
*62. Quahaug,
*63. Rudder fish,
*64. Roach,
65. Seal,
66. Shark,
67. Sting ray,
68. Skip jack,
*69. Scuppague,
*70. Succoteague,
*71. Sturgeon,
*72. Sheepshead,
*73. Salmon,
74. Skate,
*75. Shad,
*76. Smelt,
77. Soal,
78. Sucking fish,
*79. Silver fish,
*80. Escallop,
81. Squid,
*82. Shrimp,
*83. Shiner,
84. Sea snail
85. Sager,
86. Sword fish,
87. Tarpum,
*88. Tautaug or black fish,
89. Thornback,
*90. Tom cod,
*91. Trout,
*92. Mud turtle,
*93. Toad turtle,
*94. Terrapin,
*95. Loggerhead turtle,
96. Toad fish,
*97. Whiting,
*98. Winkle,
99. Wilke,
100. Yellow belly,
*101. Cod fish,
*102. Dolphin,

103. Whale,	108. Horse-foot,
*104. Redfin perch,	109. Razor-handle clam,
105. Sun fish, two sorts,	110. Fresh-water clam,
106. Pickerel,	*111. Fresh-water sucker,
107. Portuguese man of war,	112. Star fish, or five finger.

Mr. S. subjoins to this list the following observations:—

"Some of the fish named in the above schedule have been seen here but seldom. The horse mackarel formerly frequented this coast in immense numbers, and in the season were constantly to be found in the market. But about the close of the revolutionary war they forsook our waters, and have not made their appearance since. They were esteemed a great delicacy, and are the largest of the mackarel species. I have prefixed an asterisk to the names of those which have been found fit for the table. Those annexed to the following numbers are in their season generally to be found in the Newport market. No. 3, 4, 5, 11, 14, 18, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38, 42, 48, 49, 52, 53, 62, 72, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 101, 104.

On a skirt of this town is the foundation of a wind-mill, erected some time in the seventeenth century. The cement of this work, formed of shell lime and beach gravel, has all the firmness of Roman mortar, and, when broken off, frequently brings with it a part of the stone. Time has made no impression on it, except to increase its firmness. It would be an improvement in the art of building in this country, if mortar, made in the same manner, were to be generally employed.

Newport has always been esteemed one of the healthiest spots in America. The air of this island is almost absolutely sea air, is damp, often replenished with mists, less cold than the neighbouring continent in the winter, and less warm in the summer. The temperature resembles in some degree that of England. Whatever is the cause, it has long enjoyed this reputation, and has accordingly been a place of great resort, especially from the southern states and the West-Indies.

Newport has ever subsisted by commerce, and is still to a considerable extent employed in various kinds of commercial business. It is the port of entry, if I mistake not, for most of the trading towns in the state, Providence excepted.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected here for ten years:—

Years.	Duties.
1801 . . . . . Dollars,	205,153
1802	173,067
1803	134,605
1804	136,511
1805	222,525
1806	180,692
1807	94,232
1808	63,380
1809	68,757
1810	59,075

This town was settled in 1639, by Mr. William Coddington, and seventeen others. These men, together with Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, favoured the peculiar tenets of Mrs. Hutchinson. As these tenets became more and more unpopular, Mr. Coddington, who had been a councillor in the colony of Massachusetts'-Bay, and been held in much reputation, was unwilling to continue in a country where his character and influence had materially declined. In the year 1637, he and his companions purchased this island, then known by the Indian name of Aquidnec, or Aquetnec. Here he soon after settled himself, with several of his associates. Mr. Hutchinson speedily followed him with his family, and, by the zeal and activity of his wife, was chosen governor in the place of Mr. Coddington, whom this restless, turbulent woman, incapable of any enjoyment unless when controlling both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the community in which she lived, persuaded the inhabitants to lay aside. Mr. Hutchinson died in 1642, and Mrs. Hutchinson removed to Manhattan, afterwards New-York. Mr. Coddington was then reinstated, and continued to be respected until his death. From the effects of Mrs. Hutchinson's conduct on himself, he probably learned moderation and wisdom. The colony does not appear to have been molested by the Indians. In truth, the inhabitants were secured by the strength and bravery of the other colonies, which, however, placed no confidence either in them or in their neighbours at Providence, and would never receive them into their union.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Battle between the Americans under General Sullivan and the British commanded by Sir Robert Pigot. Stone Bridge. Tiverton. State of Rhode-Island. Its Boundaries and Divisions. Original Settlement. State of Religion and Learning. Common Schools.

DEAR SIR;

TUESDAY, September 23, we left Newport after dinner, and rode to Tiverton, twelve miles. In our journey we passed through almost the whole length and the whole breadth of the island of Rhode-Island. Everywhere we found the same finely rounded swells, elegant slopes, and handsome vallies; which, beginning as a characteristic feature at South Kingston, and continuing through Canonicut, terminated here. Except a few cliffs, which in some places form the shore, and are hanging and solemn, the surface is everywhere easy and graceful. The soil also is excellent, and especially fitted for grass. From thirty to forty thousand sheep are annually fed here, beside many neat cattle. The island abounds also in orchards; and yields a considerable quantity of garden fruit, particularly pears, of many varieties; some of them very fine. Peaches are neither excellent nor prosperous. They are injured by the peach-worm. In the spring, the sea winds are supposed to chill and shrink, and sometimes to destroy every kind of fruit. The inhabitants, therefore, surround their orchards and fruit yards with a shelter of forest or other hardy trees. Among these, cherry trees are found firmly to resist the influence of the winds. They are said to bear well; but many of those, which we saw, still exhibited evident marks of British ravages during the late war.

The fences on this island are generally stone walls, moderately well-built, and in tolerable repair. The wood was chiefly cut down by the British. In some places it has grown again to a considerable height. We passed the remains of several British works.

In a valley just below the hill, called Meeting House hill, and sometimes Quaker hill, a battle was fought between the Americans under General Sullivan and the British under Sir Robert Pigot. The Americans had crossed the river with an intention of attacking the British force in Newport; while the French fleet, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, was expected to second their efforts by sea. The count being drawn from his station by the address of Lord Howe, put to sea in pursuit of the British fleet. Here he was overtaken by a violent storm, August 11th, and suffered so severely, that he concluded to return to Boston with his fleet. A small number of his ships, only, came up with the British, and those were roughly handled. Thus the enterprise was abandoned by the French admiral. Had the Americans marched for Newport immediately after they had landed, or had D'Estaing returned to Newport after his pursuit of Lord Howe was ended, it is not improbable, that the British force might have been obliged to surrender, especially as they were ill supplied with provisions. Neither of these efforts was, however, made. Lord Howe, in the mean time, having sailed back to New-York, took on board 4,000 additional troops, and proceeded as fast as possible for Rhode-Island. The American general, having received intelligence of this measure, resolved to retreat as early as he could do it with safety. To cover this design, he employed his men in throwing up works, and made the appearance of continuing his operations with spirit. On the 28th he withdrew his army from the neighbourhood of the British works in the evening, and at three the next morning had reached his destined position, near the north end of the island, without molestation or loss. At seven the British, who, as soon as they discovered the retreat, pursued them, began a brisk fire upon an advanced body of their troops in this valley. Detachments were sent out from both armies, until the battle became in a great measure general. At the close of the engagement the advantage lay on the side of the Americans.

They were commanded by General Greene, and behaved (the militia no less than the regular troops) with a gallantry highly honourable to their character, especially as they were discouraged by the desertion of Count D'Estaing, and had scarcely recovered from their severe sufferings, occasioned by the long-continued violence of a furious storm. The next day General Sullivan, being informed that Lord Howe was on his way to intercept his retreat with a body of men, employed himself with great diligence and success to deceive the enemy, and convey his army, together with their tents, baggage, stores, and artillery, to the main. Both these purposes he accomplished in a manner very honourable to himself. All his men, and every thing belonging to them, arrived safe, except those who were killed or missing in the action. The Americans lost on this occasion thirty killed, one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and forty-four missing. The British lost thirty-eight killed, two hundred and ten wounded, and twelve missing.

Narrhaganset bay is formed by the influx of Taunton and Pawtucket rivers. The island of Rhode-Island lies in this bay, about six miles from the western, three from the northern, and where narrowest half a mile from the eastern shore. At this place we crossed the ferry, known here by the name of Howland's ferry. Two bridges have been erected over it; the first at the expense of thirty thousand dollars, and the second at that of twenty-six thousand. The latter was ruined by the sea-worms. Had the wooden piers, on which it was built, been painted with verdigrise, the loss might possibly have been prevented. A ship, whose bottom was covered with this pigment, lately returned from India to Newport, and was so sound, that the owner, it is said, sold the copper with which she was to have been sheathed. Since the loss of the second bridge it has been proposed to form a communication between the main and this place by filling up the whole breadth of the river, except a narrow passage, with stone dropped into the water, and suffered to fall as chance may direct. One-third of the depth is said to be filled with the foundation laid for the bridges already mentioned. On the Tiverton side stone can be obtained in any quantities, and in the most convenient positions. Seventy thousand dollars, it is supposed, would cover the whole expense. When it is considered how

necessary this work is for the defence of the island; how desirable for the trade of the neighbouring inhabitants, and how convenient for the purposes of general intercourse, it is impossible not to wish success to such an undertaking.

In the year 1806, the proposed bridge, mentioned in the last paragraph, was finished. Masses of granite of various sizes were, according to the plan specified, brought to the spot, dropped into the water, and suffered to fall *ad libitum*. In this manner two vast heaps, with a passage between them, were raised to the low-water mark. Above this a bridge of the same materials was raised, of mason-work, to the proper height above high-water mark, when strong walls of stone were built at the sides, and the flooring covered with gravel. This is undoubtedly the best bridge which has been erected in the United States. The work was executed under the superintendence of Daniel Lyman, Esq., the gentleman mentioned above, and cost 70,000 dollars.

On the ferry we had a full view of Mount Hope, now Bristol, one of the residences of Massassoit, the celebrated sachem of the Wampanoags, and of his son Philip.

We lodged at Tiverton, and the next morning we rode to New-Bedford, eighteen miles, through Westport, nine.

Tiverton is the north-eastern corner of this state. On the south it has Little Compton, on the east, Westport in Massachusetts, and on the north, Somerset in the same state. The parts of this township, visible on the road, were generally rocky and lean. At some distance on both sides of the road the land, as we were informed, is good, yielding not unfrequently forty bushels of maize, and twenty of barley, per acre. On the shore near the ferry the hills are high, rocky, and barren. The only pleasant object on the land side is a small village, consisting principally of new and neatly built houses, the inhabitants of which carry on a little commerce.

Tiverton contained in 1790, 2,453 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,717; and, in 1810, 2,837.

The state of Rhode-Island is situated between 41° 17′, and 42° north latitude, and between 71° 6′ and 71° 52′ west longitude. On the north it is twenty-nine miles in extent; on the south forty-three; on the west forty-nine; and on the east thirty-nine. Almost the whole state lies on the western side

of Narrhaganset bay. On the east are the townships of Tiverton and Little Compton; and on the north, those of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington. The state of Massachusetts borders upon Pawtucket river, from the falls to the mouth of Providence bay, an extent of about twelve or fourteen miles, and includes the head of Mount Hope bay, into which Taunton river discharges its waters. Narrhaganset bay, formed by the influx of these rivers into the ocean, contains Rhode-Island proper, Canonicut, Prudence, Patience, Hog, Dutch, Gould, and Hope islands; together with several, which are still smaller. Block-Island, which lies off the coast of Charlestown, belongs also to this state. The whole number of islands contain about ninety square miles, Narrhaganset bay about two hundred, and the remaining part of the state about one thousand three hundred; in the whole about one thousand six hundred.

This state is bounded on the west by Connecticut, on the north and east by Massachusetts, and on the south by the Atlantic. The climate and seasons are the same with those of the neighbouring countries. The soil on the islands, and a narrow border on the bay and the ocean, is rich; the remainder is partly a lean sand, and partly a cold loam, replenished with stones and rocks, cultivated with difficulty, and yielding a slender reward to the labours of the husbandman.

There are no mountains in this state.

The principal rivers are Pawcatuck, in the south-west; Pawtucket, on the north-east; and Patuxet, in the middle; and these are only large mill-streams.

The state of Rhode-Island is divided into five counties. Providence, containing ten townships; Newport, seven; Washington, seven; Kent, four; Bristol, three.

In the year	The Number of Inhabitants was
1730	17,985
1748	34,128
1761	40,636
1774	59,678
1783	51,899*
1790	68,825
1800	69,122
1810	76,931

* This diminution was occasioned by the revolutionary war.

The inhabitants of this state are almost wholly descended from the English. The original planters were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts; part of them led by Roger Williams, and a part by Mr. Coddington. The former settled at Providence, and the latter at Newport. The former division consisted principally of Baptists. Mr. Coddington, after having lived some time in Boston, became an Antinomian; and, having lost much of his influence, removed to Rhode-Island with several other persons of the same class. Both he and Mr. Williams were held in high estimation by their followers. The wars carried on by Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, against Philip and the Narrhagansets, which terminated in the reduction of both, secured Rhode-Island from the hostilities of the Indians, and probably from absolute ruin. From the circumstances of its early settlement, Rhode-Island became naturally the resort not only of such adventurers as harmonized with them in religious opinions, but of most of those who were discontented and restless. A gradual aggregation, originated by a great variety of incidental causes, spread over the state, and occupied the whole of its territory. No single or regular scheme of colonization, beyond what has been already mentioned, was pursued. No common object united the immigrants, and no common character could be traced through the mass. Of the number, who finally filled up its extent, were Calvinistic, Arminian, Sabbatarian, and Separate Baptists; constituting, together, the largest class of inhabitants; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews. Of most of these classes a considerable number are Nihilists. In such casual collections of mankind, it is an almost necessary consequence of their junction in society, that their peculiar religious opinions are held with less and less tenacity; that concessions are gradually and insensibly made by each to each; that each class respects its own doctrines less, and becomes more and more indifferent to those of others; and that all religious doctrines, imperceptibly perhaps, but really, lose their influence, until the community becomes dispossessed of that beneficent efficacy, which is ever to be expected from the Gospel, wherever it is cordially believed by an undivided body of men.

The inhabitants of this state, in opposition to the rest of their New-England brethren, have uniformly refused to sup-

port the public worship of God by law, or, in other words, to make a legal provision for the support of ministers and churches. A contract between a minister and his congregation, for his maintenance, they have placed on the same footing as contracts made at the gaming-table. Hence, except in their large towns, a minister liberally educated cannot often be found. Hence the places of such ministers are filled by plain, ignorant individuals. Ordinarily these are farmers and mechanics, who push themselves into the desk for two reasons; to avoid labour, and to display their gifts; or, in other words, from sloth and spiritual pride. In the desk, almost all such men vociferate in a manner which in every other place would be thought grossly indecent; distort doctrines and precepts; dishonour ordinances; pervert the meaning of the Scriptures, and murder arguments and language. They are destitute of dignity, propriety, and candour; coarse and clownish in their manners; uncouth in their elocution; and in their discourses clumsy and ridiculous. Next to a wicked ministry, the greatest evil which can befal the church is a weak ministry.

The churches in Providence and Newport I have already described. A large and handsome one has been lately erected at Providence. Those which I have seen in the country towns appear like badly built and decayed barns.

To remedy the evil which has been here specified, the sober and intelligent Baptists of this state founded Providence college, or, as it is now called, "Brown University." The design was honourable both to their heads and their hearts. A considerable number of young men of this persuasion have been educated, and have been destined to the ministry. But, although the number of Baptists in most of the states in the Union is considerable, and in the whole great, the places are not numerous to which such ministers can look for a living. In the cities and large towns several of them find a sufficient maintenance. Elsewhere, as they are generally obliged to look only to voluntary contributions, they must receive an imperfect support. Few of them therefore, as I believe, enter the ministry. This evil is radical; and, while men continue such as they have hitherto been, can never be remedied but by the interposition of government. Of such interposition in Rhode-Island there is, however, very little hope.

Schools usually go parallel with ministers and churches.

Here, certainly, they move in the same course. Exclusive of a few attempts which have lately been made to establish academies (of which I believe one, two, or three have succeeded), and some efforts which are made in the principal towns, schools in this state can hardly be said to exist. The gentlemen, with whom I conversed on this subject, expressed their mortification and their reprobation of the conduct of the state, in strong terms; but they seemed to be hopeless concerning a reformation. Without churches, men will be vicious of course; without schools, they will be ignorant; and ignorance and vice are sufficiently melancholy characteristics of the people in whom they are united.

It is not impossible, perhaps not improbable, that the energy awakened in this state by the diffusion of manufactures, may be productive of some beneficial consequences both to learning and religion. The wealth of the inhabitants is visibly increasing with rapidity, and will probably continue to increase through an indefinite period. Wealth, wherever it is spread, generates of course the desire of character, and this passion regularly stimulates mankind to the use of those means by which it may be gratified. The first step towards giving character to children is to give them at least a decent education, and this step is always taken whenever wealth begins to be diffused. The next is not uncommonly the building of churches; and the next, the settlement and support of ministers; such, I mean, as are qualified to discharge the duties of the sacred office. Should this be the course of events in Rhode-Island, it is hardly possible that the character of the inhabitants at large should not be essentially meliorated*.

The manners of the body of the people differ materially

* These observations were made in the year 1800. Since that time, the prediction of the writer has to a considerable extent been fulfilled. The manufacturing establishments of this state have been enlarged and multiplied, and the wealth of the inhabitants increased in a more rapid manner than in any other part of New-England. With the acquisition of property, the people, particularly in the large towns, appear to have acquired more liberal views concerning the importance of learning to the community. Within three years, also, preceding 1821, revivals of religion have taken place in a good number of towns and churches, refreshing the hearts of Christians, and elevating the moral and religious character of the state.—*Pub.*

from those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as you will easily determine from the observations already made. The vices of ignorant people are always low, vulgar, and almost always predominant. Horse-racing has for a long period been a favourite pursuit. This gross amusement turns polished men into clowns, and clowns into brutes.

The Sabbath with a great part of this people is merely a day of visiting and sport. Many of the inhabitants have customarily devoted it to labour. A considerable number of persons in the trading towns, Providence excepted, have been deeply engaged in the slave trade. Some of the missionary societies have in their proceedings considered Rhode-Island as missionary ground.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Helburne Woods. Westport. New-Bedford, Its Situation, Commerce, and Settlement. Attack on Fair-Haven by the British in 1778. Gallant Defence of the Place by Major Fearing. Rochester. Wareham. Proposed Canal across the Peninsula of Cape Cod. Sandwich.

DEAR SIR;

FROM Tiverton the road speedily entered a forest, called Helburne woods: a wild, rocky, dreary tract, with hardly a cheerful object in view. The road is stony, and miserably repaired; the soil is lean; the little agriculture, found in a few solitary spots, is wretched; and the scattering houses appear as if they were inhabited by persons, who knew not where else to find a shelter. Happily, they are supplied with one great necessary of life, fuel, on easy terms. This forest is composed almost wholly of oak.

The moment we entered Westport the scene was changed. At the very boundary the earth assumes a handsomer aspect. The surface is less hilly, and less rocky. The soil, also, and the husbandry, are sensibly better. All this tract is better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. Here we saw pines, both yellow and white; the former of which continued with little interruption to Race Point.

The houses in this township are decent farmers' habitations. Except a small trading village near the mouth of a creek, at some distance south of the road, the township is distributed into plantations. The inhabitants are principally Quakers; and furnish a considerable part of the daily supplies for the market of New-Bedford.

Westport was incorporated in 1787; and contained, in 1790, 2,466 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,361; and, in 1810, 2,585. The number of houses, in 1790, was 365.

New-Bedford is a town, situated on both sides of the river Acchusnutt*, the Indian name of the neighbouring country. The township, beside a collection of farms, contains three villages; the Town, or New-Bedford proper, on the western, and Oxford and Fair-Haven on the eastern side of the river.

The situation of New-Bedford proper is an easy declivity, sloping towards the river, which here forms a noble basin, about a mile in breadth. The surface is in some degree disfigured by rocks, but is otherwise handsome. The streets are either parallel, or at right angles with the river; being laid out with perfect regularity. Unhappily they are only forty feet wide. There are five of the former, and four of the latter. The houses are generally good, and some of them expensive and handsome. There are seven valuable mansions here, inhabited by the family of Rotch.

The township contains three Presbyterian churches; one at New-Bedford, one at Fair-Haven, and one in the interior. The first and last are supplied by a single clergyman. It also contains three Friends' meeting-houses.

The soil is hard, but well fitted for pasturage. Apples and several other fruits abound: but peaches, although they grow easily, and of good kinds, are much injured by the peach-worm.

The harbour is the basin mentioned above. The entrance is narrow, the anchorage good, and the depth sufficient to admit ships of four hundred tons to the wharfs, where they are sheltered from every wind.

Both the Town and Fair-Haven are busy, commercial villages. Fifteen thousand tons of shipping belong to this port, the great body of which is owned by the inhabitants. It is chiefly made up of large vessels, employed in the whale fishery about Falkland Islands, in the Pacific ocean, and elsewhere; or in a circuitous carrying trade. The business of all kinds done here, considering the size of these villages, is great; and, hitherto, has been almost uniformly profitable: but the duties collected are of no great importance. Yet the importations are probably smaller, when compared with the quantum of

* Written Acushnett by Mr. Colton, of Plymouth, 1674.

business done by the merchants, than perhaps those of any other place in the union.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected in this port for ten years.

Years.	Duties.
1801 . . . . . Dollars,	58,964
1802	15,527
1803	13,824
1804	27,344
1805	35,163
1806	26,972
1807	40,018
1808	1,324
1809	6,306
1810	10,703

A bridge is begun across the Acchusnutt from the town of New-Bedford to Fair-Haven. The proprietors, that they might take the advantage of two small islands, lying in the river, and of a bar extending from one of them a considerable distance, have formed this structure in a circuitous manner. The abutments, islands, and bar, extend about 2,000 feet, and the bridge, 3,960, or three-fourths of a mile. The water in the channel is more than thirty feet deep. The expense, estimated at thirty thousand dollars, was defrayed by the inhabitants of these two villages.

New-Bedford and Fair-Haven were both settled in the year 1764. The ground, on which they are built, was formerly included in the township of Dartmouth, incorporated in 1664. Dartmouth originally included the present Dartmouth, and the whole of the townships of New-Bedford and Westport. New-Bedford was not incorporated until the year 1787: the same year with Westport. The ground, on which the town stands, was the property of a Mr. Russel; and was purchased of him by Mr. J. Rotch, a native of Nantucket. When the question concerning the name of the proposed settlement was started, Mr. Rotch observed, that Russell was the name of the Duke of Bedford; and that this spot, having been the property of a family having the same name, should be called Bedford. Fair-Haven received its name from the beauty of

its situation. Mr. Rotch speedily built a house, stores, and wharfs; and was joined by several associates.

In Nantucket he had become thoroughly acquainted with the whaling business; and had formed interesting connections, both with the merchants and fishermen of that island. With this knowledge, and these connections, he began the business advantageously. Mr. Rotch was a Friend, of a fair character, sagacious, and persuasive. By his peculiar address he procured first from the government of France, and then from that of Great Britain, the privilege of exporting oil to those countries duty free; and was thus enabled to carry on his own business with the highest profit, and essentially to befriend that of his neighbours. In consequence of these happy beginnings, and the industry and skill with which they were followed, the town instantly began, and with one exception has ever continued to be eminently prosperous. We were not in Fair-Haven; but its appearance was pleasant and handsome.

No events of any peculiar importance occurred in the history of this town until the year 1778. On Saturday evening, the 3d of September, the British under General Gray landed 4,000 troops upon Clark's Neck, the western boundary of the river at its mouth, and marched to the town. Here they burnt houses, wharfs, &c., to the amount of £11,241; and destroyed English and West-India goods, provisions, naval stores, shipping, &c., to the amount of £85,739; amounting in the whole to £96,980, or 323,266 dollars. From this place they marched around the head of the river to Sconticut Point, on the eastern side; leaving in their course, for some unknown reason, the villages of Oxford and Fair-Haven. Here they continued till Monday, and then re-embarked. The following night a large body of them proceeded up the river, with a design to finish the work of destruction by burning Fair-Haven. A critical attention to their movements had convinced the inhabitants that this was their design, and induced them to prepare for their reception. The militia of the neighbouring country had been summoned to the defence of this village. Their commander was a man far advanced in years. Under the influence of that languor, which, at this period en-

feebles both the body and the mind, he determined that the place must be given up to the enemy, and that no opposition to their ravages could be made with any hope of success. This decision of their officer necessarily spread its benumbing influence over the militia; and threatened an absolute prevention of all enterprise, and the destruction of this handsome village.

Among the officers, belonging to the brigade, was Israel Fearing, Esq., a major of one of the regiments. This gallant young man, observing the torpor which was spreading among the troops, invited as many as had sufficient spirit to follow him, and station themselves at the post of danger. Among those who accepted the invitation was one of the colonels, who of course became the commandant; but after they had arrived at Fair-Haven, and the night had come on, he proposed to march the troops back into the country. He was warmly opposed by Major Fearing; and, finding that he could not prevail, prudently retired to a house three miles distant, where he passed the night in safety.

After the colonel had withdrawn, Major Fearing, now commander in chief, arranged his men with activity and skill; and soon perceived the British approaching. The militia, in the strictest sense raw, already alarmed by the reluctance of their superior officers to meet the enemy, and naturally judging that men of years must understand the real state of the danger better than Major Fearing, a mere youth, were panic struck at the approach of the enemy, and instantly withdrew from their post. At this critical moment Major Fearing, with the decision which awes men into a strong sense of duty, rallied them; and, placing himself in the rear, declared, in a tone which removed all doubt, that he would kill the first man whom he found retreating. The resolution of their chief recalled theirs. With the utmost expedition he then led them to the scene of danger. The British had already set fire to several stores. Between these buildings and the rest of the village he stationed his troops; and ordered them to lie close in profound silence, until the enemy, who were advancing, should have come so near, that no marksman could easily mistake his object. The orders were punctually obeyed. When the enemy had arrived within this distance, the Ame-

ricans rose, and, with a well-directed fire, gave them a warm and unexpected reception. The British fled instantly to their boats, and fell down the river with the utmost expedition. From the quantity of blood, found the next day in their line of march, it was supposed that their loss was considerable. Thus did this heroic youth, in opposition to his superior officers, preserve Fair-Haven, and merit a statue from its inhabitants*.

A wag, who had divined the true reasons of the colonel's retreat, followed him to the house where he lodged; and, finding by inquiry, that notwithstanding his original declarations to the contrary, he had concluded to take up his lodgings there for the night, resolved to be his sentinel. He therefore mounted the jaw-bone of a horse upon a pair of small wheels, instead of a cannon. This piece of artillery he charged and discharged, at regular intervals during the night, as the proper means of defence to his gallant commander; and had the satisfaction of seeing him safe and sound the next morning.

The township of New-Bedford extends from Dartmouth to Rochester, four miles, and from Buzzard's bay to Freetown, thirteen. In 1790, it contained 454 houses, and 3,313 inhabitants; in 1800, 626 dwelling-houses, and 4,361 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 5,651.

Thursday, November 25th, we left New-Bedford early in the morning, and rode to Sandwich, thirty miles; through Rochester, twelve; and Wareham, thirteen. On our way we visited a manufactory of twine at the head of the harbour, and about four miles from the town. It is the property of Mr. Rotch; and will cost, it is said, forty thousand dollars when completed. It contains five stands of quills, each of which spins thirty pounds of flax per day; and a twisting machine, which easily twists all that is spun. One hundred and fifty pounds of flax, therefore, are converted daily into twine at this manufactory, or 46,950 pounds in twelve months. Sewing twine only is spun at present, and is said to be of a good quality; but it is intended soon to spin that, which is designed for netting. The flax is chiefly imported from Con-

* This account of New-Bedford I had from Edward Pope, Esq.; from whom I received many civilities.

necticut. This was an application of water machinery to the convenience of man, which I have not before seen.

Soon after we passed the Acchusnutt we entered upon the great sandy plain, which forms the south-eastern region of Massachusetts. Between New-Bedford and Rochester it is tolerably firm. Thence to Wareham it becomes lighter, and the road heavier. From Wareham to Sandwich the horse may be said to wade. The forest throughout this region is principally formed of yellow pines. Oaks are however interspersed in New-Bedford and Rochester. The soil in Rochester is principally hard, and furnishes a good road.

Rochester consists of scattered plantations. The soil, so far as we had opportunity to see it, is thin and indifferent. Around a decent church we saw several well-looking houses, and a number of others in different parts of the township.

Rochester was incorporated in 1686; and contained, in 1790, 2,644 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,546; and, in 1810, 2,934.

Wareham, on the road, is almost merely a sandy plain, except a few spots lying chiefly along the streams. The soil, which is light and thin, lies immediately upon a stratum of white sand, from half an inch to eight or ten inches in thickness. Beneath this lies another stratum of yellow sand, descending below any depth to which it has been explored. As all this country is formed in the same manner to Province Town, with few and small interruptions, I shall have occasion hereafter to resume this subject.

The congregational church in Wareham is decent; but neither this, nor the church in Rochester, has a steeple.

The lands in this township, near the ocean, are said to be much better than those on the road.

Wareham was incorporated in 1739; and, in 1790, contained 854 inhabitants; in 1800, 770; and, in 1810, 851.

Between Wareham and Sandwich we crossed the neck, or isthmus, which connects the peninsula of Cape Cod with the main. Two streams from this peninsula empty their waters into Barnstable-Bay on the east, and Buzzard's-Bay on the west, whose head-waters are very near to each other. A scheme has long since been projected, and often been brought up to the view of the public, for making a canal, to connect

these two waters, of sufficient depth to admit vessels of considerable burthen, and thus save them the voyage round Cape Cod, which at some seasons of the year is not a little hazardous. The design is accompanied by the following very serious difficulties. The expense, as estimated by several successive surveyors, will be very great. There is no harbour at the entrance in Barnstable-Bay, to secure vessels aiming at the canal in tempestuous weather. This evil is radical, and can be remedied only by an expensive mole at this spot. If the canal should be guarded with locks, it would in the winter be frozen, and thus preclude all navigation at the time of the greatest exposure. If the canal should be left open, it is believed that a sand bar would be formed at one of the entrances. The importance of this work, however, is so great, that it will probably be one day attempted. During five months out of the nine, in which it would be open, easterly storms more or less prevail. Many vessels are lost; and a great mass of property is sunk in the ocean. The commerce of Boston, and other towns on the eastern shore of Massachusetts, would also be rendered so much safer and easier, that it could not fail of being greatly increased. Perhaps there never was a spot, in which such a work was more necessary, or in which it would be more useful to mankind, than in this. The distance between the navigable waters of these two bays is five miles.

The soil of Sandwich is much better than that which we saw at Wareham. The surface is an interchange of hills and vallies; which, though not beautiful in themselves, were particularly agreeable to us, after having languished over so extensive a plain. These, to a considerable extent, are moderately well covered with earth. The meadows were often brilliant. The arable land bears good crops of the grains common to the country, and among them of wheat, which not uncommonly yields well. The maize was small; but the season had been very dry, and stinted its growth. Generally the crop is good. A stranger surveying this ground would suppose, from its appearance, that vegetation of every kind must be greatly inferior to that which really exists. There are several good orchards in this town, and one cider-mill, the only one on the peninsula.

The town of Sandwich is built on the northern, or, as it is commonly called, the western side of the isthmus, on a hill of considerable height. The most compact part of it surrounds a clear, pleasant-looking pond. From this water runs a handsome stream, on which stands a grist-mill. The church is an ancient building, as are also many of the houses.

A considerable salt marsh along the shore of the bay yields the inhabitants a large quantity of hay, which is valuable both as fodder and as manure. Near it is a small harbour, called the Town harbour, where, and in some other inlets belonging to the township, about thirty vessels are employed in the coasting business, especially in carrying wood to Boston.

The general appearance of Sandwich is not unpleasant; and from the high grounds there is a fine prospect of the bay, and of the neighbouring country. There is a small academy, containing at this time a considerable collection of students.

Sandwich is divided into two parishes. It was incorporated in 1639; and, in 1790, contained 1,991 inhabitants; in 1800, 296 dwelling-houses, and 2,024 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,282. There is one society of Friends, and another of Methodists, in this township.

The inhabitants of Sandwich have very civil, decent manners. Since we were on this ground there has been a considerable revival of religion in the congregation of the Reverend Mr. Burr.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

Country between Sandwich and Barnstable. Barnstable. Yarmouth. Salt Works of Cape Cod. Observations on the Extent of this Manufacture. Difficulties of Christianizing the Indians. Dennis. Harwich. Orleans.

DEAR SIR;

MONDAY, September 29th, we left our friends in Sandwich, and rode to Orleans, thirty miles; through Barnstable, twelve; Yarmouth, sixteen; Dennis, twenty-one; and Harwich, twenty-five.

The country from Sandwich to Barnstable is hilly, and in a great degree bare, bleak, and desolate, the inhabitants having universally cut down their forests and groves, and taken no measures to renew them. The soil is thin and unproductive, and furnishes very little that is sprightly to enliven the scene. The road is in many places worn through the soil down to the yellow sand, and is deep and very heavy. The hills succeed each other so rapidly, and the acclivities and declivities are so sudden as to render the travelling very laborious. It ought to be mentioned, however, that in the vallies, and towards the bay, a number of meadows alternate the prospect pleasantly. The views from the heights are frequently extensive and interesting. The streams are few and small. The houses on the road are neither numerous, nor, except in a very few instances, of much value.

Barnstable lies at the bottom, or the southern extremity of Massachusetts'-Bay. The township extends across the peninsula, which here is from five to nine miles wide, and about eight miles from Sandwich to Yarmouth A noble prospect is seen from the high grounds, consisting of the town and neighbouring country. A very extensive salt marsh, at that time co-

vered with several thousand stacks of hay; the harbour, a mile wide, and four or five miles long; a long, lofty, wild, and fantastical beach, thrown into a thousand grotesque forms by the united force of winds and waves; and the bay, bounded on the north only by sky, on the east by the peninsula of Cape Cod, and on the west by the eastern shore of Massachusetts; Plymouth Point, a very long beach running several miles into the bay, and Duxborough Point, another beach of considerable extent, and lapping upon that of Plymouth, are conspicuous and very pleasing objects in this view.

The soil in Barnstable is plainly richer, as the situation is better, than that of Sandwich. The forest growth in both townships is chiefly oak and yellow pine. The land produces good crops of maize, rye, and other grains, a good deal of flax, and a great quantity of onions. On some grounds, and in favourable seasons, wheat grows well. Salt hay is furnished by the marshes in abundance.

The town is built on the northern declivity of a range of hills, running near the middle of the peninsula. The greater part of the houses stand on the road: taken together they are superior to those of Sandwich. Many of them are neat, and several exhibit proofs of wealth and taste. The public buildings, which we saw, were a Presbyterian church and a court-house; the latter decent and well repaired; the former disagreeable to the eye. The church is unusually low, while the tower of the steeple is disproportionately high, appearing as if made for some other building, and by accident annexed to this.

Barnstable was incorporated in 1639, and is the shire town of the county, which bears this name. This distinction it acquired in 1685, and, although situated near the western end of the peninsula, has quietly retained it ever since. From this source the manners of the inhabitants have received some degree of polish, and their morals some injury. Many of the inhabitants are seamen, and a greater part farmers.

Barnstable includes two parishes, and three congregations; two Presbyterian, and a small Baptist. In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 2,610; in 1800, 2,964; houses 408; and, in 1810, 3,646.

From Barnstable to Yarmouth the road is deep and heavy, like that last described.

The soil of this township is inferior to any which we had seen, except some parts of Wareham. Here we were first witnesses of that remarkable phenomenon, so interesting to the inhabitants of this peninsula, the blowing of the sand. I shall describe it hereafter.

The houses in Yarmouth are inferior to those in Barnstable, and much more generally of the class, which may be called with propriety Cape Cod houses. These have one story, and four rooms on the lower floor; and are covered on the sides, as well as the roofs, with pine shingles, eighteen inches in length. The chimney is in the middle, immediately behind the front door; and on each side of the door are two windows. The roof is straight. Under it are two chambers; and there are two larger and two smaller windows in the gable end. This is the general structure and appearance of the great body of houses from Yarmouth to Race Point. There are, however, several varieties, but of too little importance to be described. A great proportion of them are in good repair. Generally they exhibit a tidy, neat aspect in themselves, and in their appendages, and furnish proofs of comfortable living, by which I was at once disappointed and gratified. The barns are usually neat, but always small.

At Yarmouth also may be said to commence the general addiction of the people on this peninsula to fishing. Born and bred at the verge of the water, they are naturally tempted to seek for plenty and prosperity on the waves, rather than glean a pittance from the field. From this source is derived their wealth, and much of their subsistence.

In Yarmouth we first found the salt-works, which are now beginning to engross the attention of the people on this peninsula.

During the revolutionary war, many persons, here and elsewhere along the coast, applied themselves to the business of making salt. The process consisted in evaporating sea water from large boilers by fire. The quantity obtained in this manner was necessarily small, and the consumption of fuel great. It was therefore given up at the ensuing peace; but

the subject was not absolutely forgotten. A Mr. Kelly, having professedly made several improvements in the means of accomplishing this business, obtained a patent about two years before this journey was taken, for making salt works on the plan now generally adopted in this region. Of these the following is a description.

Vats, of a number suited to the owner's design, twenty feet square and ten or twelve inches in depth, are formed of pine planks, an inch and a half thick, and so nicely joined as to be water-tight. These are arranged into four classes. The first class, or that next to the ocean, is called the water-room; the second the pickle-room; the third the lime-room, and the fourth the salt-room. Each of these rooms, except the first, is placed so much lower than the preceding, that the water flows readily from it into another in the order specified. The water-room is filled from the ocean by a pump, furnished with vans or sails, and turned by the wind. Here it continues until of the proper strength to be drawn into the pickle-room, and thus successively into those which remain. The lime, with which the water of the ocean abounds, is deposited in the lime-room. The salt is formed into small crystals in the salt-room, very white and pure, and weighs from seventy to seventy-five pounds a bushel. The process is carried on through the warm season.

After the salt has ceased to crystallize, the remaining water is suffered to freeze. In this manner a large quantity of Glauber's salt is obtained in crystals, which are clean and good. The residuum is a strong brine, and yields a great proportion of marine salt, like that already described.

To shelter the vats from the dews and rains, each is furnished with a hipped roof, large enough to cover it entirely. The roofs of two vats are connected by a beam, turning upon an upright post, set firmly in the ground, and are moved easily on this pivot by a child of fourteen, or even twelve years. To cover and uncover them is all the ordinary labour.

The marine salt, made here, is sold for seventy-five cents a bushel, and the Glauber's salt, at from six to ten cents a pound. At these prices the salt works were supposed, by the several persons with whom we conversed, to yield an annual profit of 25, 26, 27, 30, and 33⅓ per cent. on the principal employed.

If this estimate is not excessive, the business must certainly be better than most others. It is useful, permanent, liable to few accidents, secure of a market, incapable of being overdone, and unattended with any material expense, either for labour or repairs. In ordinary cases a child can perform the labour of a considerable establishment, and the repairs are almost confined to the roof, and the pieces of timber by which the works are supported. If these were smeared with oil and Spanish brown, or lampblack, they would last a long time. The brine itself secures the vats from decay.

The people of Dennis, the town immediately east of Yarmouth, began this business. The improvements of Mr. Kelly were represented to me as contested and doubtful. Whatever the truth may be concerning this part of the subject, the people of Dennis have the merit, and ought unquestionably to have the honour of commencing efficaciously this useful employment.

The sight of these works excited in my mind a train of thought, which others, perhaps, will pronounce romantic. I could not easily avoid thinking, however, that this business might one day prove the source of a mighty change in the face of this country. The American coast, as you know, is chiefly barren, and of course thinly inhabited. It is, also, almost everywhere low and level; and, therefore, while it is unsuited to most other employments, is remarkably fitted to this. Why, then, may it not be believed, that many thousands of persons may one day be profitably employed in making salt along the immense extent of our shore. Why may not comfort, and even wealth, be easily, as well as usefully obtained here by great multitudes, who otherwise might hardly earn a subsistence. For aught that appears, this business may be followed with success and profit, to an extent which it would be very difficult to define. A small capital is sufficient to begin the employment with advantage. The demand for salt is at present very great, and is every year increasing. There are (1811) seven millions of inhabitants within the United States: within a moderate period there will be seventy. The West-Indian sources, from which we principally derive this necessary article of life, are now more than sufficient. The time is near, in which the demand will exceed the supplies

from that quarter. To what means can the inhabitants of this country so naturally betake themselves, as to those which I have specified. Will they not of course erect works of this nature, in succession, from St. Mary's to Machias? Will not comfort, therefore, and even affluence, spring up on sands and wastes, which now seem doomed to everlasting desolation? Will not towns and villages smile in tracts, which are now condemned to gloom and solitude? May not multitudes, who habitually spend life in casual and parsimonious efforts to acquire a bare subsistence, interluded with long periods of sloth and drunkenness, become sober, diligent, and even virtuous, and be formed for usefulness and immortality?

About forty years since, there stood within the limits of Yarmouth an Indian church, in the neighbourhood of which, called Indian Town, resided a small congregation of praying Indians, of the Paukunnakut, or Wampanoag tribe. This was among the last relics of the efforts successfully made by our ancestors for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. From the obstinate belief which extensively prevails, that these people can never become Christians until they shall have been first civilized, one would naturally suppose the trial never to have been made, or to have been made without any success; yet history informs us, that our ancestors spread the religion of the Gospel among them, with as few obstacles and as happy effects as were, perhaps, ever known to attend efforts of the like nature among any barbarians since the early days of the church.

From Major-General Gookin, a perfectly unexceptionable witness, we learn with certainty, that in the colony of Massachusetts'-Bay there were, in his time, eleven hundred praying Indians in fourteen villages. In the colony of Plymouth there were at the same time, including those of all ages, not far from six thousand. In Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket there were, perhaps, fifteen hundred more. When to these we add those in Connecticut, the number may be estimated at not far from ten thousand. These facts perfectly refute the opinion, that there is some peculiar difficulty attending the conversion of Indians, which is inherent in their character or manners. It cannot, however, be denied, that the attempts which have been made in modern times to spread the influence of the

Gospel among them have in a great measure been unsuccessful. Two great causes have, in my apprehension, produced this effect. The first of these was the general persuasion, excited by Philip, that the English were enemies to the Indians, and were embarked in a general design to possess themselves of their lands. This persuasion appears to have spread, by the agency of that sagacious chieftain, throughout the greatest part of New-England, in a manner remarkably rapid and efficacious. So firmly were the Indians satisfied of the hostility and sinister designs of the colonists, that the impression has never been effectually erased. Whenever our people approach them, therefore, they are met with apprehension and dislike, strongly cherished by the sense of their own inferiority and diminution, and of the population and power of the Americans. The other cause of this difficulty is found in the character and conduct of those who are called Indian traders. These are a class of men, who, for a long period, employed themselves in exchanging coarse European goods and ardent spirits, muskets, powder and ball, flints, hatchets, knives, and some other commodities, with the Indians, for furs and peltry. Sometimes they resided among them permanently, and sometimes occasionally, and in either case acquired often considerable ascendency over them. Generally they were men of loose lives, as well as of loose principles. In their trade they were greedy and oppressive, and in their ordinary conduct licentious. A great part of their gains arose from the sale of ardent spirits; a business, to the success of which the vice, particularly the intemperance, of the Indians was indispensable. Against Christianity and its missionaries, therefore, these men arrayed themselves, and made on the minds of their customers the most unfavourable impressions concerning both. At the same time, they themselves were white men, and in the view of the Indians were of course Christians. With Christianity, therefore, these ignorant people almost necessarily connected the unprincipled and profligate lives of the traders, as being often the only, and always the prominent, examples of what they supposed to be the proper effects of the Christian religion*.

* The same effects are produced in the minds of the Hindoos, by the loose lives of the British inhabitants of Hindostan. The most solid, the most operative, objection brought by them against the Christian religion,

To these great causes must, in certain cases, be added a third, which sometimes was not inferior to either in its efficacy; I mean the very censurable character of that class of men, who usually plant themselves upon the frontier of the English settlements, a class composed principally of the foresters heretofore described. These men almost of course alienate the minds of the Indians from every thing adopted by the colonists.

Independently of these causes, there is nothing in the Indian character, which can rationally discourage efforts for their conversion. They are savages, it is true, and a savage life is hostile to religion; but how often has Christianity triumphed over this obstacle. What I especially intend is, that there is nothing of a peculiar nature in their circumstances, which would make their conversion more hopeless and difficult than that of other savages. Of this decisive proof is furnished in the facts which have been already stated. A strong illustration of the same proof is also exhibited in the remarkable success of the excellent Brainerd, who, at Cross-week-sung, converted by his preaching, so far as the human eye can judge, seventy-five Indians, out of one hundred, to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, within twelve months. What minister can boast of greater success in any congregation of civilized life! Such a fact is a flaming proof, that the difficulty here complained of does not lie in the mere character of these people.

Yarmouth was incorporated in 1639. In 1790, it contained 2,678 inhabitants, Dennis being then included within its limits. In 1800, Yarmouth alone contained 1,727; and, in 1810, 2,134. Of Dennis we saw little, except the ground on which we rode, and occasional extensions of our prospect over the neighbouring country. Of the houses and inhabitants we saw few, and those distinguished by no peculiarity. A considerable part of the road from Yarmouth to Orleans, where we

and that which is obviated with the greatest difficulty, has been derived from this source. The Mexicans made the same objection, and as they thought irresistibly, against the religion that was taught them by the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Tanjore, after having been a short time witnesses of the life of Schwartz, never thought of questioning either the reality or the excellence of his religion.

lodged, is hilly and unpleasant. The soil is principally lean; the verdure faded prematurely; the forests, which in Dennis extend along the road in one place three miles, are low and unthrifty; and the surface, though sufficiently varied, destitute of beauty. The views of the bay, and the tidy, comfortable appearance of the houses, are here almost the only objects which can gratify the eye of a traveller. On the northern shore the soil is said to be better. Rye, Indian corn, and onions are said to grow well; and are cultivated in greater quantities than are necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants.

The highest land in the county of Barnstable is Scargo hill, in this township.

The following account of the salt works in Barnstable county is taken from the collections of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, vol. viii, page 138.

	Number of Works.	Number of Feet.
In Dennis	47	33,800
Yarmouth	4	16,630
Barnstable	14	11,717
Sandwich	4	2,702
Falmouth	4	1,900
Harwich	21	18,600
Chatham	6	11,500
Orleans	11	3,080
Eastham	12	9,100
Wellfleet	2	180
Truro	1	700
Province Town	10	11,404
	136	121,313

You are to be informed, that these feet denote the area of the several vats contained in each salt work; and that a foot has here a singular meaning, and denotes ten actual feet. The real amount of the whole area of the vats erected on this peninsula, was, in the year 1802, 1,213,130 square feet. It was calculated, that these works would yield annually 40,438 bushels of marine salt, and 181,969 pounds of Glauber's salt,

worth in the whole 41,701 dollars, 56 cents; of which the marine salt, valued at 75 cents a bushel, amounts to 30,328 dollars, 50 cents; and the Glauber's salt, valued at 6¼ cents per lb. to 11,373 dollars, 06 cents.

Captain John Sears, of Dennis, was the first and principal author of this method of manufacturing salt, and is to be considered as one of the benefactors of his country; particularly as he persevered in bringing the design to perfection, in spite of the sneers and ridicule of his neighbours; weapons often employed in a very shameful, though successful, manner to discourage useful inventions.

There is a flourishing village on Bass river; running between Yarmouth and Dennis, on the south side of the peninsula.

Dennis was incorporated in 1793. In 1800, it contained 188 dwelling-houses, and 1,408 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,739.

Harwich presents a handsomer aspect than any other town after Barnstable. It is situated on an easy declivity towards the south, and has a tolerably good soil. The verdure was more vivid, and the agriculture more successful. The houses are generally such as have been already described*.

Orleans is not greatly distinguished by any thing from Harwich, except that it is much inferior in pleasantness of appearance. The soil also is lighter, and apparently less productive. On Pocket neck, however, lying upon the south, it is much better than in the main body of the township; and on Pocket island, in Pleasant bay, is still better. In the body of the township twelve bushels of maize, and eight of rye, are the average crop; on the neck, from fifteen to twenty of maize, and from eight to twelve of rye; and on the island twenty bushels of maize, without the aid of manure. Old men and boys are principally the husbandmen; the middle, aged, and young men are chiefly employed in fishing. Clams are the

* In the year 1803, the township of Harwich was divided, and the first parish incorporated by the name of Brewster. This is the part through which we travelled. In the year 1790, the township contained 2,392 inhabitaats; and, in 1800, 2,987; in the year 1810, the present Harwich contained 1,942, and Brewster 1,112; total 3,054.

bait used by the fishermen, of which from six hundred to a thousand barrels are collected here in a single season. In this business many poor people find employment and subsistence. Very little wood grows in this township. Imported wood and peat are the fuel of the inhabitants. The township is divided into scattered plantations.

Orleans was formerly a part of Eastham, and was incorporated in 1797. In 1800, it contained 1,095 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,248.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER X.

Eastham. Truro. Province Town. Beach Grass, its utility. Soil very thin, and blown away from the White Sand beneath. Manners and Habits of the Inhabitants of Province Town. Its Fisheries and Harbour. Wellfleet. Return to Harwich. Innkeeper.

DEAR SIR;

WE left our comfortable inn in Orleans, September 29th; and rode to Province Town, through Eastham, Wellfleet, and Truro: thirty miles. When we had proceeded half a mile on our journey the road turned to the north, and thence to the north-west, this spot being the elbow of the peninsula. In Eastham the surface became a perfect plain; and the peninsula so narrow, that we had a full view of Massachusetts'-Bay and the Atlantic at the same time. The bay was everywhere magnificent, and on the north was like the ocean, without limits. We were, therefore, presented with the prospect of two immense oceans, separated only by a strip of land, three miles in breadth. Few spots on a continent unite two such objects in a single view.

In Eastham the cultivation of the earth was a point of perceptibly less consequence than in Orleans. The soil was visibly more barren; the fields were large, as if owned in common by many proprietors; the fences were low, as if little danger was apprehended from cattle; and large tracts were left uninclosed. All these appearances increased, until, at the distance of perhaps six miles from Orleans, we entered a forest, composed at first of oaks, and afterwards of oaks and pines, still lower and leaner than any which we had seen before. This forest lasts, without intermission, to Wellfleet, and with very little to the borders of Truro. At first the ground

is high, but level. After we had travelled a few miles, it became broken into hills and vallies. On the eastern side of this township, however, there is a tract of very good land, containing about two hundred acres, probably the best in this county; yielding, when well manured, from thirty to forty-five bushels of maize, and from twenty to thirty bushels of rye. Generally, the land on the eastern side is better than that on the western. More than one thousand bushels of maize are annually sent to market by the farmers.

Eastham was incorporated in 1646; and, including Orleans, contained, in 1790, 1,834 inhabitants; in 1800, Eastham alone contained 659, and both townships 1,764; and, in 1810, Eastham contained 751.

Our journey through the forest mentioned above was disagreeable. The surface was unpleasant, and the trees were destitute of thrift and beauty. The road, also, became within a few miles a mere bed of deep sand, through which our horses moved with excessive difficulty. Yet even in this forest we saw planted, at considerable distances, tidy, snug houses, usually surrounded by a fence, inclosing a small piece of ground. On most of these were orchards of apple-trees, defended from the sea winds by a barrier of cherry-trees, or locusts. Under these trees we had from time to time the pleasure of seeing patches of verdure, not indeed very brilliant, yet very agreeable to us; accustomed, as we had now been for a great distance, to fields covered with a melancholy russet. These houses are almost all built in vallies, surrounded by hills of considerable height, and defended by the forests which cover them. A small barn is commonly built near the house, in which is lodged the salt hay, destined to be the food of one or more cows. These animals, having never known better food, will, it is said, live well on this fodder.

Our road passed Wellfleet on the right, at such a distance, that we saw little of this town until our return.

Truro, *i. e.* the town, lies on the western side of the peninsula; being built, like most of those through which we had passed, upon the harbour. The principal concern of these people, you will remember, lies with the ocean. The villages of Truro and Wellfleet, and the houses scattered through these townships, are almost entirely stationed in vallies; one of

which, towards the northern part of the township, runs across, or nearly across, the peninsula. On these low grounds they find a better soil, and security from the violence of the winds. The hills, contrary to what is found almost everywhere else in New-England, are dry, sandy, and barren.

The general aspect of the township, and of the buildings which it contains, differs in nothing remarkable from those, which have been already described. It includes two villages, one of about forty, and the other of about thirty houses; together with several hamlets, and a number of scattered habitations. The houses have the same tidy, comfortable appearance, which has been heretofore remarked; but are painted in fewer instances than in Yarmouth, and some other places. The church is large and decent, but without a steeple. From the ground, on which this building stands, there is a noble prospect of the bay and the ocean. This view is frequently repeated in the way to Province Town.

In passing through this township we saw a few melancholy corn fields, particularly towards the northern limits. The corn hills, formed by the hoe, were all standing, as if the fields had yielded their last crop, and were finally forsaken. The fences appeared to have been designed rather to mark the boundaries of the fields, than to defend them against the intrusion of cattle. Yet these lands are said, in ancient times, to have produced fifty bushels of maize to the acre, and from fifteen to twenty bushels of wheat.

Truro contained, in 1790, 1,193 inhabitants, and 165 dwellings; in 1800, 1,152 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,209.

From Truro to Province Town our road lay chiefly on the margin of a beach, which unites it with Truro. The form of this township, exclusively of Long Point, is not unlike that of a chemical retort: the town lying in the inferior arch of the bulb, and Race Point on the exterior, and the beach being the stern. Immediately before the town is the harbour, commonly styled Cape Cod harbour; the waters of which extend round the north end of Truro a considerable distance, and are there terminated by an extensive salt marsh, which reaches some distance into the last mentioned township. Between this marsh and the waters of Province Town harbour on one side, and the Atlantic on the other, runs the beach. From

observing it in various places along the road from Eastham, I was induced to believe, that it borders the ocean from Race Point to the Elbow, and perhaps reaches still farther.

This remarkable object is an enormous mass of sand, such as has been already described; fine, light, of a yellowish hue, and the sport of every wind. It is blown into plains, vallies, and hills. The hills are of every height from ten to two hundred feet. Frequently they are naked, round, and extremely elegant; and often rough, pointed, wild, and fantastical, with all the varied forms, which are seen at times in drifts of snow. Some of them are covered with beach-grass: some fringed with whortleberry bushes; and some tufted with a small and singular growth of oaks. The variety and wildness of the forms, the desolate aspect of the surface, the height of the loftier elevations, the immense length of the range, and the tempestuous tossing of the clouds of sand, formed a group of objects, novel, sublime, and more interesting than can be imagined. It was a barrier against the ambition and fretfulness of the ocean, restlessly and always employed in assailing its strength, and wearing away its mass. To my own fancy it appeared as the eternal boundary of a region, wild, dreary, and inhospitable, where no human being could dwell, and into which every human foot was forbidden to enter. The parts of this barrier, which are covered with whortleberry bushes, and with oaks, have been either not at all, or very little blown. The oaks, particularly, appear to be the continuation of the forests originally formed on this spot. Their appearance was new and singular. Few if any of them rose above the middle stature of man; yet they were not shrubs, but trees of a regular stem and structure. They wore all the marks of extreme age; were in some instances already decayed, and in others decaying; were hoary with moss, and were deformed by branches, broken and wasted, not by violence, but by time. The whole appearance of one of these trees strongly reminded me of a little, withered old man. Indeed, a Lilliputian of threescore years and ten, compared with a veteran of Brobdingnag, would very naturally illustrate the resemblance, or rather the contrast, between one of these dwarfs and a full-grown tenant of our forests.

This stinted vegetation is partially, and perhaps justly, at-

tributed to the influence of the sea winds. The chief cause, however, is undoubtedly the sterility of the soil. Throughout the whole of this peninsula the forest trees, and all others, even those in the most favoured spots, are unusually small. You will remember, that with the exception of a thin soil, and a few spots of salt marsh, it is formed entirely of sand. In such ground no forest tree can grow, either with rapidity or vigour. All the trees, and all their branches, are blunt and unthrifty in their appearance, and humble in their stature. The water, which nourishes them, is received upon a mere sieve, which retains it but for a moment, and supplies them with a scanty, parsimonious nurture. Accordingly, the trees are in the literal sense starved. On the beach this evil exists in a peculiar degree. The hills, on which these remarkable vegetables stand, are of very small compass; and the water runs down their sides, and oozes from their declivities. Hence, the supply of nutriment is still less, and the growth more stinted, than on the body of the peninsula.

On the driest and most barren of these grounds grows a plant, which I had never before seen, known here by the name of beach-grass. This vegetable bears a general resemblance to sedge; but is of a light bluish green, and of a coarse appearance. On these sands, sterile as they appear, it flourishes with a strong and rapid vegetation; and, I believe, not at all, or very rarely, on any other ground; and here, one would naturally think nothing could grow.

From a Mr. Collins, now an inhabitant of Plymouth, and formerly of Truro, I received the following information. When he lived at Truro the inhabitants were, under the authority of law, regularly warned in the month of April, yearly, to plant beach-grass, as in other towns of New-England they are warned to repair highways. You will observe, that it was required by the laws of the state, and under the proper penalties for disobedience, being as regular a public tax as any other. The people, therefore, generally attended, and performed the labour. The grass was dug in the bunches, in which it naturally grows; and each bunch divided into a number of smaller ones. These were set out in the sand at distances of three feet. After one row was set, others were placed behind it in such a manner, as to shut up the inter-

stices; or, as a carpenter would say, so as to break the joints. It was placed in this manner, in order to prevent the wind from having an open course through the grass in any direction, lest it should drive the sand away. When it is once set, it grows of course, and spreads with rapidity. Every bunch enlarges; and, with its seeds, plants new ones around it. The seeds are so heavy, that they bend the heads of the grass; and, when ripe, drop directly down by its side, where they immediately vegetate. Thus in a short time the ground is covered.

Where this covering is found, none of the sand is blown. On the contrary, it is accumulated and raised continually, as snow gathers and rises among bushes, or branches of trees, cut and spread upon the earth. Nor does the grass merely defend the surface on which it is planted; but rises, as that rises, by new accumulations; and always overtops the sand, however high that may be raised by the wind.

Within the memory of my informant the sea broke over the beach, which connects Truro with Province Town (the eastern end of which, for three miles, is within the limits of the former township); and swept the body of it away for some distance. The beach-grass was immediately planted on the spot; in consequence of which the beach was again raised to a sufficient height, and in various places into hills.

The wisdom and goodness of the Creator, exhibited in the formation of this plant, in this place, certainly claim the admiration and gratitude of man. But for this single, unsightly vegetable, the slender barrier, which here has so long resisted the ravages of the ocean, had, not improbably, been long since washed away. In the ruins, Province Town, and its most useful harbour, must have been lost; and the relief, which the harbour, and the inhabitants, furnish to multitudes of vessels in distress, and which no other place or people could possibly furnish, must have been prevented. No other plant grows on this sand. The purpose for which it seems to have been created, it answers easily, permanently, and perfectly. Perhaps at some period, at a more advanced state of knowledge, when war shall have become less, and the advancement of happiness more the object of human pursuit, uses of similar importance may be found for most, possibly

for all other objects, however useless they may be thought at present, and however neglected in the inquiries of man.

The benefit of this useful plant, and of these prudent regulations, is however in some measure lost. There are in Province town, as I was informed, one hundred and forty cows. These animals, being stinted in their means of subsistence, are permitted often to wander, at times in search of food. In every such case they make depredations on the beach grass, and prevent its seeds from being formed. In this manner the plant is ultimately destroyed.

It has been a frequent opinion, that this beach, and not improbably the whole township of Province Town, will one day, and that at no distant period of time, be swept away by the ocean. I was not able to obtain satisfactory information concerning this subject, particularly as judicious persons differed entirely both as to facts and probabilities. Some averred, that the beach has been greatly diminished within a moderate period. Others, particularly one, a discreet man, insisted, that what it lost on one side it regularly gained on the other. It is now a mere line of sand, in several places not more than one hundred yards wide, and appears to the eye of a stranger, as if every vestige of it might be easily swept away within two or three years.

From Truro to Province Town the road and the scenery are both singular. Beside the beach and the salt-marsh already described, the high grounds of Truro, on the south-west, exhibit a prospect entirely peculiar. Bleak, barren, and desolate, as if never designed to be the residence of man, they are nevertheless divided into fields, inclosed in the low, slender manner mentioned above, and covered with short grass, now russet and melancholy. The soil, here scarce an inch thick, has, in spots spread over all these fields at little distances, been either blown or washed away, and left the white sand immediately beneath it bare. These spots exactly resemble the remains of a light snow chiefly melted and vanished, yet still whitening the ground in many places, and with perpetually differing gradations of lustre.

The road, except when the tide has declined, lies along the south-western margin of the beach in a mass of sand, through which a horse wades with excessive fatigue. When the tide

has sufficiently fallen, a path is furnished by that part of the beach which has been washed, better in our opinion than almost any which we had found after we had left Rochester. The only objects in this tract, which can be called beautiful, except the water, are the naked hills of sand. These in many instances are perfectly regular, graceful swells, highly ornamented with fine waving figures of great elegance, wrought in the sand by the various motions of the wind.

Province Town stands on the end of the peninsula, and near the western limit of the beach. Race Point, the northern termination of the peninsula, lies three miles farther north; and Long Point, a hook extending from its western border, shoots out towards the south four and a half. Between this hook and a beach, connected with the north-western corner of Truro, winds the entrance of the harbour, which is thus completely land-locked, and perfectly safe. The town is built on the north side of the harbour, and on the southern margin of the beach. When we were on the ground, it contained 140 houses; all, as far as we saw them, of one story. They were new, neat, and comfortable; but are built on a bed of deep sand, and set upon blocks of wood. They are built in rows, the first of which is complete; the second, immediately behind it, broken with interstices; and the third, short and broken also. All, or nearly all of them face toward the harbour. There are a few court-yards, but no other inclosures of any kind. Cellars, where they exist, are built of bricks in a circular form, to prevent the sand from forcing in the walls by its pressure. It is said, that there are two or three gardens at some distance from the town; and some of the inhabitants cultivate a few summer vegetables in their court-yards. Almost all their food, except fish, is imported from Boston. Fish is the only commodity of domestic use with which they supply themselves.

The earth is here a mere residence, and can scarcely be said to contribute at all to the sustenance of man. All his support, and all his comforts, are elicited from the ocean. To the ocean he betakes himself as the only field of his exertions, and as if it were his native element. The little children were wading as familiarly in the harbour, as elsewhere they are seen playing in the streets. Their sports, and their serious occupa-

tions, are alike found there. Little boys managed boats of considerable size with the fearlessness, and apparently with the skill, of experienced boatmen. Every employment, except within doors, seemed to be connected with the water, and intended for the sea. To fish in every various manner, to secure that which had been caught, to cure fish, to extract oil, and to manage different sorts of vessels, from the canoe to the ship, engrossed apparently the whole attention of the inhabitants.

The manners of all those whom we saw, of every age and of both sexes, were very becoming, plain, frank, obliging, and obviously sincere. Nothing was perceived of the roughness which I had expected from a mere collection of fishermen and sailors. The inn, in which we lodged, was kept by a respectable man, who, with his whole family, did every thing which we could wish for our accommodation.

All these people appear to be industrious and enterprising. They are said to be excelled by no seamen in their resolution, skill, and activity. Many of them command ships belonging to Boston, and the other trading towns in its neighbourhood. Many of them also are said to amass wealth to a considerable degree; and some of them retire into the interior, where they purchase farms of their less industrious and less prosperous countrymen.

The fishery of Province Town is an important object. For some years the scarcity of whales has been such as to discourage the whale fishery; but as they have now become more numerous, they are beginning to be objects of more attention. The cod fishery is pursued with great spirit and success. Just before we arrived, a schooner came in from the great bank with 56,000 fish, about 1,500 quintals, taken in a single voyage; the main deck, as I was informed, being, on her return, eight inches under water in calm weather. They also fish for sharks, and take great numbers of them; for mackarel, horse mackarel, haddock, &c. Herrings are also taken in prodigious quantities.

The harbour of Province Town is very capacious, secure, open at all times, and of good bottom. Its depth is sufficient for ships of any size, and it will contain more than three thousand vessels at once. Its importance is incalculable. The

exterior coast of the peninsula is peculiarly hazardous. The storms, which prevail on the American coast, generally come from the east; and there is no other harbour on a windward shore within two hundred miles. A vast number of vessels are always plying in this commercial region; and thousands have found safety here, which would otherwise have perished.

About 37,000 quintals of cod fish, and about 5,000 barrels of herrings, are annually caught by the people of Province Town. The herrings are about four dollars a barrel, and cod fish about three dollars and a third, or twenty shillings a quintal.

Within this township there are two horses, ten yoke of oxen, and one hundred and forty cows. These, except when they purloin the beach grass, are fed from the marsh in the neighbourhood.

All the inhabitants whom we saw, of every age, were well clad; and no marks of poverty were discerned by us.

Province Town contains a Presbyterian church. Mr. P——, the present minister, is much and deservedly respected by his people; and his public labours are very generally attended. This, undoubtedly, is a prime source of the sobriety and decency conspicuous among the inhabitants. He was settled, as we were told, when there were only seventeen families on the spot; the town having been in a great measure deserted during the revolutionary war.

A stranger, born and educated in the interior of New-England, amid the varied beauties of its surface, and the luxuriant succession of its produce, naturally concludes, when he visits Province Town, that the inhabitants and the neighbours also must possess a very limited share of enjoyment. Facts, however, refute this conclusion. For aught that we could discern, they were as cheerful, and appeared to enjoy life as well, as any equal number of their countrymen. This, indeed, is easily explicable. Food and clothing, houses, lodging, and fuel, they possess of such a quality, and with so much ease in the acquisition, as to satisfy all the demands of that middle state in life, which wise men of every age have dignified by the name of golden. Nature and habit endear to them the place in which they were born and live, and prevent them from feeling what would be serious inconveniences to a

stranger. Their mode of life is naturally not less pleasing than that of the farmer or mechanic; for no people are more attached to their employment than seamen. The enterprise, which this life requires, and the energy which it supplies, render it less even and dull, and are probably as well suited to the natural taste of man, as arts or agriculture. The situations of others they rarely see, and are therefore rarely led to make irksome comparisons. The lawn, the meadow, the orchard, and the harvest, excite in their minds, neither wishes nor thoughts. The draught of herrings, the fare of cod fish, the conquest of a shark, and the capture of a whale, prompt their ambition, engross their care, and furnish pleasures, as entirely unknown to the farmer, as the joy of harvest is to them. To solitude they are strangers. An active, enterprising life is scarcely molested by ennui. Almost every day strangers visit Province Town from different parts of the world; for there is hardly any spot, except great trading cities, which is more frequented by vessels of all descriptions than this. By these they are furnished with business and intelligence, and with not a few of those little varieties in thought and feeling, which contribute so much to the cheerfulness of life. Nor do they fail of enjoying a conscious uninterrupted superiority over mere landsmen. While most of their countrymen have been chained to a small spot of earth, they have traversed the ocean. While the husbandman has followed the plough, or brandished the sickle, the inhabitant of Province Town has coasted the shores of Greenland, swept the Brazilian seas, or crossed the Pacific ocean, in chase of the whale. Who, that has circumnavigated the globe, will not look down on him, who has scarcely travelled out of his native county, or spent life on his own farm?

The truth is, a great part of human happiness or misery arises from comparison merely. Our misfortunes spring not from our poverty, for we are rarely poor in such a sense as to suffer, but from a perception that we are not so rich as others. To this spirit there are no bounds. Alexander would have been contented with Macedon, had there been no Persia, with Persia, had the Indus and the ocean limited the Asiatic continent, and with the station of a man, had there been in his apprehension no gods. Where objects of superiority and com-

parison do not exist, the pain arising from this source is not felt. Such, in a good degree, is the situation of these people. Their lot is the lot of all around them. They have little to covet, because they possess most of what is seen and known. Happily, Providence has, in cases of real importance, conciliated us, partially at least, to the sources of our enjoyment. Were we naturally and generally prompted to an universal comparison of our condition with that of others, how many, who are now satisfied, would make themselves miserable, because they were not seated on thrones and wielding sceptres. How many would pine, that they were not to glitter on the page of the historian and the poet. How many would spend life in sighing for the fine enthusiasm of Spenser and Beattie, the exquisite elegance of Addison and Virgil, or the sublime raptures which thrilled in the bosom of Homer, Milton, or Isaiah.

Province Town, in 1790, contained 434 inhabitants; in 1800, 812; in 1802, there were 198 families, and, by a proportional calculation, 946 persons; rather less than five to a family; and, in 1810, 936.

Wednesday, September 30th, we left our hospitable and friendly inn, and rode to Harwich; thirty-five miles. We began our journey at an early hour, in order to take the benefit of a hard path, furnished by that part of the beach which is covered by the tide at high-water. For several miles we were presented with a fine view of the Atlantic, now rolling against the shore under the pressure of a strong wind with inexpressible grandeur. After we had ascended the high ground on which stands the church of Truro, I was struck with the resemblance between this spot and some parts of Scotland, as they are often exhibited in description. "Bleak and barren," like "Scotia's Hills*," the country seemed to forbid the cultivation and the hopes of man. Providence appeared, in the very formation of the ground, to have destined it to accidental visitation, or eternal solitude. In spite of facts the imagination irresistibly asked, Who, that could make his retreat, would fix his residence here?

On this ground there is a handsome lighthouse, stationed

* Beattie's Minstrel.

upon a mass of clay remarkable for its firmness, and not less so for being found here. General Lincoln, a gentleman to whom his country is indebted for many important services, superintended its erection; and it is said to be contrived in a manner uncommonly useful.

On our way we passed through the town of Wellfleet; and found the houses generally like those heretofore described, but with more appearances of attention and taste.

Here we saw a collection of sand-hills surrounding the harbour. They were of different sizes, and, in some degree, of different figures; but were all obtuse cones, smooth, regular, and elegant. Such a number, adorning a handsome piece of water, winding beautifully until it opened with a vista-like passage into the bay, were, after all the similar objects which we had seen, new and interesting. No mass of earth is comparable to these hills for regularity and elegance of figure and surface. Were they as cheerful as they are regular, were they dressed with the verdure which so generally adorns New-England, they would be among the most beautiful objects in nature.

At Wellfleet formerly lived Colonel Elisha Doane, who amassed in this spot an estate of £120,000 sterling.

In 1790, Wellfleet contained 1,113 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,207; and, in 1810, 1,402.

At Eastham we changed our road a few miles before we reached Orleans; and, after passing by the church, an ordinary building in indifferent repair, entered a large sandy waste, lying towards the bay. Here about one thousand acres were entirely blown away to the depth, in many places, of ten feet. Nothing can exceed the dreariness and desolation of this scene. Not a living creature was visible; not a house; nor even a green thing, except the whortleberries, which tufted a few lonely hillocks, rising to the height of the original surface, and prevented by this defence from being blown away also. These, although they varied the prospect, added to the gloom by their strongly picturesque appearance, by marking exactly the original level of the plain, and by showing us, in this manner, the immensity of the mass which had thus been carried away by the wind. The beach grass had been planted here, and the ground had been formerly inclosed; but the gates had

been left open, and the cattle had destroyed this invaluable plant. The inhabitants were, I presume, discouraged, and yielded up their possessions to ruin. When and where this evil will stop, cannot easily be calculated; for the sand spreads a perfect sterility in its progress, and entirely desolates the ground on which it falls. The impression made by this landscape cannot be realized without experience. It was a compound of wildness, gloom, and solitude. I felt myself transported to the borders of Nubia, and was well prepared to meet the sandy columns so forcibly described by Bruce, and after him by Darwin. A troop of Bedouins would have finished the picture, banished every thought of our own country, and set us down in an African waste.

The day had now become very warm; the wind blew from behind us; the sand was very deep; and our horses were obliged to move slowly, and with extreme difficulty. Nothing could better elucidate the strength and beauty of that fine image of Isaiah, "A weary land;" and to us "the shadow of a great rock" would have been inexpressibly delightful.

The rocks on this peninsula terminated, upon our road, in Orleans. They are the common, grey granite of the country.

We lodged at Harwich with a Captain A. This man had been thirty years at sea, and, as he informed us with emphasis, had seen the world. Now he was the principal farmer in Harwich, and cut annually from four to eight loads of English hay*; a greater quantity, as he told us, than was cut by any single farmer further down the Cape. A farmer in the interior, who cuts annually from one to two hundred tons, may perhaps smile at this story.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Spear grass.

LETTER XI.

Return to Sandwich. Mission among the Indians at Massapee. Visit to the Rev. Gideon Hawley, the Missionary. Description of the Peninsula of Cape Cod. Its Soil, Population, &c.

DEAR SIR;

THE next morning, Thursday, October 1st, we rode to Yarmouth, nine miles, to breakfast; and spent a considerable time in examining the salt works of Peter Thatcher, Esq. Hence we proceeded to Marshpee, or Massapee, fifteen, to dinner. In the evening we returned to Sandwich, twelve; in all, thirty-six miles. Our road was better than on the three preceding days.

Massapee is one of the few tracts in the populous parts of New-England, which are still occupied by the aborigines. A missionary has been regularly supported here, with small interruptions, from the establishment of this Indian colony, by the efforts of Mr. Richard Bourne, the first missionary. This gentleman, with a disinterestedness and piety highly honourable to him, obtained, in the year 1660, a deed from an Indian, named Quachatisset, and others, to the Indians of Massapee; or, as they were then called, "the South Sea Indians," covering the tract which bears this name. The instrument was so drawn, that the land could never be sold without the consent of every Indian belonging to the settlement. On this foundation he began a mission to this place, and was ordained as a missionary in 1670. In 1685, he died; and was succeeded by an Indian preacher, named Simon Popmonet, who lived in this character about forty years; and was succeeded, in 1729, by Mr. Joseph Bourne, a descendant of Richard. This gentleman resigned the office in 1742; and was followed by a second Indian missionary, a regular minister, and a good,

sensible preacher. During his life two gentlemen were successively candidates for the office; but, being powerfully opposed, neither of them was inducted. In 1758, the Rev. Gideon Hawley was installed as the pastor of these people.

Massapee is peculiarly fitted to be an Indian residence. It lies on the Sound; is indented by two bays; and shoots into several necks, or points of land. It is also watered by several streams and ponds. From these circumstances, the inhabitants derive abundant opportunities of supplying themselves with fish. It is well covered with a forest; and, therefore, has long retained the game, which was the second source of their subsistence. It is also sequestered, in a great measure, from that correspondence with the whites, which has been usually fatal to Indian settlements in this country.

The face of this tract is not unpleasant. It is composed of plains, vallies, and hills, but is less unequal than Sandwich or Barnstable. On our road we saw several English houses; all of which were good buildings, and exhibited proofs of prosperity. I have nowhere seen quinces in such abundance.

The inn at which we dined was kept by a respectable family, who entertained us with great civility and kindness. After dinner, one of my fellow-travellers accompanied me to the house of Mr. Hawley, with whom we had an interview, more interesting than words can describe.

This gentleman was a most intimate friend of my parents. From his youth he had sustained as amiable and unexceptionable a character as can perhaps be found among uninspired men. He was pious and benevolent, zealous and candid, firm and gentle, sedate and cheerful, with a harmony of character equally uncommon and delightful. Naturally, I believe, his disposition was ardent, his conceptions strong, and his susceptibility exquisite. The points, however, were worn down and smoothed by an excellent understanding, and a peculiar self-government. Equally removed from the phlegm of insensibility, and the vehemence of passion, his feelings were warm, and yet temperate. Me, whom he had not seen since I was a youth of eighteen, he regarded with personal affection. To this he added the peculiar attachment, which he was prepared to place on me, as a representative of my parents and my grand parents on both sides, all of whom he remembered with

the strongest emotions of friendship, whom he had not seen for thirty years, and whom he expected never to see on this side of the grave. The expressions of genuine and virtuous attachment paint the heart at once, in a manner perfectly understood, and exquisitely felt, but they cannot be copied. Perhaps they were never more happily exhibited, nor by a mind which felt more, or in a manner more amiable and dignified.

Mr. Hawley had a favourite son; a young gentleman of the greatest hopes, possessed of superior talents and learning, of elegant manners, distinguished piety, and the best reputation. He had lately come from the tutorship in Cambridge, and had been just ordained to the ministry.

By all who knew him he was beloved and honoured, and most by those who knew him best. In the room over our heads he lay on his dying bed, and had been expected to expire the preceding night. For death he was, however, eminently prepared; and looked forward through the curtains, which hide the invisible world, to scenes of a higher and more refined nature, scenes suited to the elevated taste of an enlightened Christian, with a serenity and confidence more dignified than the loftiest conceptions of proud philosophy, and the sublimest dreams of sceptered ambition.

The pleasure, with which the father of this good man received me; the sympathy, with which he recalled the friends of his youth; the sorrow, awakened by the situation of his expiring son; and the setting of his fond, luminous hopes in the night of the grave; the lustre, which played and trembled over this melancholy scene from the mind of that son, brilliant with lucid hopes of immortal glory; exhibited in their union and their alternations a picture, wholly singular, beautiful, solemn, and sublime. I beheld it with a mixture of wonder and delight. To describe it is beyond my power. Into all these subjects he entered familiarly, and at once; and appeared equally ready to go with his son, or stay behind with his remaining friends; to protract his toil a little longer, or to be summoned to his account, and the reward of his labours, as it should please his Employer. He felt deeply, but with a serene submission. He knew that he was chastened, but found high and sufficient consolation for his sufferings in the character of

Him, from whom the stroke came. To me he showed, in such a manner as to put suspicion out of countenance, the affection of a father, and when we parted he gave me a father's blessing.

If I may be permitted to judge, the emotions which he discovered, and even those which he excited, were such as an infidel, or any other worldling, if he could enjoy or understand them, would deeply envy. They were such as he would of necessity confess to be as much brighter, nobler, and better, than any thing which he had ever imagined before, as the golden visions of enraptured poetry are superior to the dull, cold realities of this untoward life.

The young gentleman, who accompanied me on this visit was educated in the gay world, and, as himself declared, sufficiently addicted to its enjoyments; but he was entirely overcome by the scenes of this interview. After we had left the house, he burst into a flood of tears, which he had with great difficulty suppressed until that time, and was unable to utter a word, until we had almost reached the inn. In broken accents he then declared, that he had never been so deeply affected in his life; that although he had not before been accustomed to think lightly of Christianity, he had now acquired new ideas of its excellence, and that should he ever lose them afterwards, he should esteem himself guilty as well as unhappy. Yet the whole conversation had been rather cheerful, and every thing, which it involved of a melancholy nature, had been gilded and burnished by serenity and hope*.

* As this excellent man died a few years after the time here mentioned, I will add those particulars concerning him which I have been able to collect.

In a letter to the author, dated April 29, 1801, Mr. Hawley observes:—

"When you honoured me with a visit on the 2d of October ult., my son, my son James, the son of my old age, the hope of my declining years, was in the last stage of life, and he only survived until the 8th, at evening, when he expired. May my other children live as he lived, and when they come to die, may they die as he died. A number of his church and congregation came forty miles to be present at his funeral, which was attended by all the vicinity of ministers. The Rev. Mr. L. of Falmouth kept sabbath with us on the day after his funeral, and delivered a very suitable discourse on the occasion. James died at a time of life when men are generally lamented, in case their characters are good."

When we arrived at the inn, we found two of our companions had set out for Sandwich soon after dinner. It was near sun-set when we followed them. The evening was calm and beautiful; the country through which we passed was a forest, still and solitary, and the moon, whose unclouded beams darted, at momentary intervals, through the pines, bordering our road, prolonged the serene solemnity awakened in our minds during the afternoon, and formed a happy conclusion of the affecting scenes which I have described. After a delightful ride of twelve miles, we arrived at Mr. B.'s, and were received with every proof of politeness and affection.

On the afternoon of the succeeding day, Friday, October 2d, we left this hospitable family, and, accompanied by Mr. D., rode to Plymouth; eighteen miles. At the house of Mr. H.,

In a letter of September 2, 1802, he says:—

"I have rather declined since I had the honour and satisfaction to see you at my house, in October 1800, a few days before my late James' death. I am yet upon duty—may I be faithful unto the death—the time is short; and the time of my departure is at hand. My coevals are dead.

"For a man of seventy-five I have very few complaints. In the early part of life my labours and sufferings were many and hard, and I did but just survive my services (among the Indians and in the army) in the year 1756. I came down to this place in 1757, expecting soon to end my days; but was so far recovered as to be on my western mission in 1761—and as far as Chenango.

"I have lately written to your kinsman, the only surviving son of your late uncle, the president of Union college, deceased, concerning his father in his puerile years, when with me in the Indian country, and how we came off in the dead of winter. I was six days in passing from Onecho Yunghe to Cherry Valley with my two boys; and the four last days with only ourselves, my Indians (not through disaffection, but fatigue) having given out by the way. An Indian will hardly endure three days fatigue in succession."

This eminent and faithful servant of the Lord died on the 3d of October, 1807, in the eighty-first year of his age, and fifty-sixth of his missionary labours. "* On his death bed he appeared perfectly rational and tranquil. Speaking of his approaching dissolution and his prospects of futurity, he observed, 'I have hope of acceptance, but it is founded wholly on free and sovereign grace, and not at all on my own works. It is true my labours have been many, but they have been so very imperfect, attended with so great a want of charity, humility, &c., that I have no hope in them as the ground of my acceptance.'"—*Pub.*

* See Panoplist, 1807.

the same polite and friendly reception, which we had experienced at Sandwich, was repeated.

As I have now bidden adieu to the peninsula of Cape Cod, I will close my account of it with a few general observations.

This singular piece of land extends from the isthmus, which connects it with the Main, to Race Point, as measured on the road, sixty-eight miles. About half this distance it runs eastward, and the remaining half principally north-westward. At Sandwich, where it is widest, it is about seventeen miles in breadth, or, if measured to the south-western extremity of Falmouth, about twenty. At Harwich it is about eleven, or, if measured to the southern point of Cape Malabar, about nineteen. The basis of this peninsula, constituting almost the whole mass, is a body of fine yellow sand. Above this is a thin layer of coarser white sand, and above this another layer of soil, gradually declining from Barnstable to Truro, where it vanishes. A considerable part of the peninsula is still forested. Many of the inhabitants, within the Elbow, are seamen; beyond it almost all. They are generally, perhaps as generally as in any other part of the United States, in comfortable, and even in thrifty circumstances. Few decayed, or unrepaired houses were visible to us, and no peculiar marks of poverty. The inhabitants are industrious and orderly. The vice principally complained of to us was intemperance, and this chiefly in the western division. Every town has at least one church, and, so far as I was able to learn, divine service is, with few exceptions, generally and respectfully attended. Their intercourse with each other by land is confined. There are no more enterprising, active, skilful seamen, perhaps, in the world. Upon the whole, this unpromising tract sustains more inhabitants, and furnishes them with more comfortable means of subsistence, than a stranger would be easily induced to imagine. In 1790, the county of Barnstable contained 17,354 people; in 1800, 19,293; and, in 1810, 22,211; a great part of whom are like beavers, gaining their subsistence from the water, and making use of the land chiefly as a residence. Those who live beyond the Elbow have been heretofore accused of plundering the vessels wrecked on their coast, and treating the seamen who escaped with inhumanity. Instances of this nature may have happened. I am well assured, that

the contrary character is to be attributed to them generally, and that they have often exhibited the most humane, as well as undaunted spirit, in relieving their suffering countrymen, and in aiding them to preserve the remains of their shipwrecked property.

The country from Sandwich to Plymouth is a continued forest, with a few solitary settlements in its bosom. The surface is, principally, a plain; but at times swelling into hills. Wherever the road lies on the shore the prospects are romantic, but wild and solitary. The forest is, generally, composed of yellow pines; the soil is barren, and the road almost universally sandy; but less deep than that, which has been heretofore described.

We passed several places, which in this region have been kept in particular remembrance from an early period. Among them is a rock, called Sacrifice Rock, and a piece of water, named Clam-pudding Pond. On the former of these the Indians were accustomed to gather sticks, some of which we saw lying upon it, as a religious service, now inexplicable*. On the shore of the latter the early colonists of Plymouth held an annual festival, and made this food a part of their entertainment. A great part of the tract is in the township of Plymouth.

I am, Sir, &c.

* This seems to have been customary among the aborigines of New-England.

LETTER XII

Plymouth; the first Town settled in New-England. Rock on which the Colonists first landed. Their Cemetery. Reflections on the care of Divine Providence over them. Fisheries and Commerce of Plymouth.

DEAR SIR;

PLYMOUTH, the cradle of New-England, is situated at the bottom of a harbour, on the south-western part of Massachusetts'-Bay, forty-two miles south-east of Boston, and thirty north-east from Barnstable. It is built on the shore, upon an easy declivity, beneath the brow of an extensive pine plain. The declivity is about a fourth of a mile in breadth, and from a mile and a half to two miles in length. Its surface is generally handsome, and its soil excellent. The soil of the plain is of little value. Main Street runs irregularly on the rear of the declivity, parallel with the shore. Several others have the same direction, and these are irregularly crossed by others nearly at right-angles. The houses are in many instances ordinary, in many decent, and a considerable number are of a still better appearance. The town is compactly built, and has an air of respectability; but cannot be called handsome. I found it improved in its appearance; and still more so when I visited it in 1807. The public buildings are two churches, a court house, and a gaol; neither of them distinguished for beauty.

Plymouth was the first town built in New-England by civilized men, and those, by whom it was built, were inferior in worth to no body of men, whose names are recorded in history during the last seventeen hundred years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these facts, attaches to this town, which may be termed a prejudice. Still it has its foundation in the nature

of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New-Englander, who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock, where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions, entirely different from those, which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New-Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously, as he pleases, he will still regard this spot with emotions, wholly different from those, which are excited by other places of equal, or even superior importance.

For myself, I cannot wish this trait in the human character obliterated. In a higher state of being, where truth is universally as well as cordially embraced, and virtue controls without a rival, this prejudice, if it must be called by that name, will probably become useless, and may, therefore, be safely discarded. But in our present condition every attachment, which is innocent, has its use, and contributes both to fix and to soften man. The fierce, and the roving spirit of our race, are alike dangerous; and where a ruling principle of a higher nature cannot be certainly established, nor its efficacy safely relied on, a wise man will press into the public service every harmless emotion, every useful tendency of the human heart, and secure to himself, and to the world, the benefits, which, experience assures him, will be derived from its influence. Nor will he foolishly lessen the attachment to country, nor discourage its desirable exertions, by coldly scrutinizing its metaphysical nature, doubting its propriety, or stigmatizing it with the names of prejudice and weakness.

An admiral would be ill employed, on the eve of a naval engagement, in teaching his sailors, that the enthusiasm, with which they felt the honour of their country, was contrary to good sense, and founded only in the foolish prejudices of a narrow education. A parent would be miserably occupied in persuading his child, if he could persuade him, that the house, in which he was born, had nothing which recommended it to his attachment, beyond any other house in the neighbourhood, except the feelings, which were produced, as well as cherished, by weakness and error. Probably there is not a

Christian in the world, however ardent, refined, or sublime, may be his emotions, to whom Heaven is not additionally endeared, whenever he thinks of it in the character, or gives it the appellation, of his final home. Such prejudices are more honourable to the heart, and more useful to the interests of man, than all the frosty feelings, and all the wire-drawn disquisitions, with which a false philosophy has benumbed and perplexed the world.

On Saturday morning, accompanied by I. L., Esq., and Mr. H., we visited the consecrated rock, on which the first fathers of New-England landed. Hence we proceeded to the original burying ground, where several of the first colonists, whose names are now unknown, were interred. Two of the cannon, originally brought hither, lie on this ground. From this place we proceeded to the spot, where the first English dwelling-house was erected; and saw the first well which was dug in New-England.

We next proceeded to the common cemetery, and examined the names on a great number of the monuments; many of which had already been rendered familiar to us by history.

Had the persons, anciently buried here, been distinguished for nothing but being the the first planters of New-England, they would, according to the dictates of my own mind, have been entitled to a consideration, in some respects peculiar, and could not have been blended by memory with the herd of those who are gone. But when I call to mind the history of their sufferings on both sides of the Atlantic; when I remember their pre-eminent patience, their unspotted piety, their immoveable fortitude, their undaunted resolution, their love to each other, their justice and humanity to the savages, and their freedom from all those stains, which elsewhere spotted the character even of their companions in affliction; I cannot but view them as a singular band of illustrious brothers, claiming the veneration and applause of all their posterity. By me the names of Carver, Bradford, Cushman, and Standish, will never be forgotten, until I lose the power of recollection.

On this ground stood the first fort, ever erected in this country. The figure of the work is still distinctly visible. It

was a round, irregular structure, conformed to the shape of the ground. No other place could have been so well chosen, either for discovering the approach of savages, or for defending the town against their incursions.

A noble prospect is presented to the eye on this spot. Immediately beneath it lies the town; and beyond this the harbour, and its shipping. The harbour is a beautiful piece of water, bounded on the south by Plymouth Point, a long arched beach, and on the north by that of Duxborough; the end of which is called the Gurnet, and sustains the light-house. These points, together with the opposite shores, completely enclose the harbour. Between them is seen Clark's Island; named from the mate of the vessel, which brought the first settlers, and the first white man that landed on this ground. Over these points opens the great bay of Massachusetts; limited at the southern extremity by the peninsula of Cape Cod, with its finely gilded shore of yellow sand, extending more than sixty miles; and spreading boundlessly to the north-east. On the north appears the town of Duxborough*, shooting far into the bay its beautiful shore, ornamented by a handsome conical hill, called Captain's Mount, the property and the residence of the gallant Standish. A more magnificent assemblage is not often seen; and none is so endeared to a New-Englander, by the remembrance of what has passed in former periods of time.

Governor Carver was buried in the first burying ground, and is without a monument. This is dishonourable to the citizens of Plymouth; but will, I hope, not long remain so. The true character of their ancestors is becoming better and better understood by the people of New-England; and their attention to the persons and facts, mentioned in the early history of their country, is continually increasing. The inhabitants of Plymouth, who, in this respect, hold the first station among their countrymen, will, I trust, feel the propriety of honouring, with so becoming a tribute, the memory of a man, to whom they are so greatly indebted. The re-

* This town was named in honour of Captain Standish, the *dux*, or military leader of the colony.

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mains of Governor Bradford were interred, without a doubt, in the other burying ground, near those of his son;

"But "not a stone
Tells where he lies."

Bradford and Carver were the fathers of the colony at a time, and in circumstances, when few of our race would have hazarded or suffered so much, even for the promotion of religion itself. Their patience and constancy were primitive, and their piety and benevolence would not have dishonoured an apostle.

I could not but feel, with great force, the peculiar care of Divine Providence over these colonists, in conducting them to this spot. The savages in the neighbourhood had, during the preceding year, been entirely destroyed by an epidemic*; and the country was, therefore, become, throughout a considerable extent, entirely useless to its owners. Hence they were willing to sell it to the colonists. Besides, the disease had so much reduced their numbers, that they were endangered by the formidable power of their neighbours, the Narrhagansets. Instead of regarding the English, therefore, with that jealousy, which is so universal and so important a characteristic of savages, they considered them as seasonable allies, by whom they might be secured from the hostilities of their neighbours. Hence they welcomed the English with kindness and hospitality. The friendship, begun between Massasoit and the colonists, continued, through his life; and, although at times, and in small degrees, weakened by the arts of his neighbours, was in full strength at his death.

The place, where they landed, was furnished with a safe harbour, of sufficient depth to admit their own commercial vessels, and yet too shallow to receive vessels of force. The soil, on which they planted themselves, was, to an extent sufficient for all their purposes, excellent. This ground bordered the ocean, and on that side, therefore, was safe. On

* Gookin says, "doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died, and afterward."

the land side it was easily and entirely defended by a single fort. The barrenness of the interior prevented them from wandering, to which almost all colonists have a strong propensity. Excursions into the country would have awakened the jealousy of their neighbours, and subjected the colonists to a most capricious hostility, from individuals at least, if not from the tribe; a hostility against which savage principles could furnish no security, and savage government no protection. The settlers of Plymouth were by this fact retained in a cluster; and were thus preserved from probable destruction. Here, also, they found water at their doors in springs, and in a fine mill-stream of the best quality.

The climate, notwithstanding the mortality experienced the first year, was eminently healthy. The bay furnished them with fish in abundance for food and for commerce, both at the time indispensable; and opened an extensive trade with the Indians of the coast, for articles of great demand in their native country. In this manner they were enabled to pay their debts, and supply many future wants. Here they found, what was of incalculable importance to them at the commencement of their settlement, an Indian, named Tisquantum, or Squanto; who by accident had contracted a friendship for the English, and became at once, and throughout his life continued to be their friend. This man, more mild and generous than most of his countrymen, was very useful to them in many particulars of great importance. He became their interpreter; he taught them how to plant, to manure with fish, and to preserve maize; a plant, indispensable to their subsistence, and the means of their preservation, at various times, from famine and death. He also conciliated to them the good will of his brethren; and gave them repeated and timely information of danger from the savages, even at the hazard of his life.

In no other place could these advantages have been found: but all these they enjoyed here, until their numbers, wealth, and knowledge of the country enabled them to extend their settlements with safety and success.

They were originally destined to Hudson's river; but the captain, bribed by the Dutch government, conducted them to New-England. Notwithstanding the baseness of this conduct,

and notwithstanding the superior advantages, possessed by the city and state of New-York at the present time, it is, I think, clearly evident, that they landed in a place incomparably better suited to the nature of their enterprise, their wants, and their welfare. The Dutch settlers were aided by their own government in Europe, and were yet hardly able to preserve themselves from ruin. The colonists of Plymouth had no such aid; and would probably have perished by famine, or been cut off by war, soon after they had reached the shore.

The institutions, civil, literary, and religious, by which New-England is distinguished on this side of the Atlantic, began here. Here the manner of holding lands in free socage, now universal in this country, commenced. Here the right of suffrage was imparted to every citizen, to every inhabitant, not disqualified by poverty or vice. Here was formed the first establishment of towns, of the local legislature, which is called a town meeting, and of the peculiar town executive, styled the select men. Here the first parochial school was set up; and the system originated, for communicating to every child in the community the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here, also, the first building was erected for the worship of God, the first religious assembly gathered, and the first minister called and settled by the voice of the church and congregation. On these simple foundations has since been erected a structure of good order, peace, liberty, knowledge, morals, and religion, to which nothing, on this side of the Atlantic, can bear a remote comparison.

The genteel people in Plymouth have the same characteristics with those of the same class along this coast. The middle class, composed of fishermen and mechanics, are respectable for good morals, and civility of deportment. To the inhabitants the fishery is an object of primary importance. To some it is a source of wealth, and to multitudes of a comfortable, cheerful living. The most valuable branch of it is the cod fishery; the next, those of mackarel and herrings. All these are sold in Spain and Portugal, or on the islands belonging to these countries. Formerly, they were carried to the Boston market. Mr. H. commenced the business of exporting them to foreign countries in his own vessels. His fellow citizens have followed this profitable example.

The commerce of Plymouth may be estimated from the following abstract of duties.

Years.		Duties.
1801	Dollars,	21,754
1802		19,223
1803		30,305
1804		34,417
1805		63,411
1806		98,511
1807		62,592
1808		21,994
1809		32,575
1810		29,224

The mode of curing fish on the flakes is a curiosity to a stranger. A fish flake is a platform, made in this manner. Posts are set upright in the ground, about two and a half feet high. A rail, inserted in holes made in these posts, connects them as in field fences. These are multiplied to such an extent as the business demands; and are covered with a matting of alders, woven so closely as to support the fish. In a field, belonging to Mr. H., about three acres were covered with these flakes. The level margin of the ocean, for about two miles above and below the town, is, during the proper season, wholly devoted to this business.

When the codfish are opened, and cleansed, which is done in sea-water, they are salted, packed, and suffered to lie a short time. They are then carried to the flakes, where they are spread in the sun to dry. When rain is approaching, they are always housed; and in cloudy days are not carried out. After they are sufficiently dry, they are longed in stores, and picked for exportation. The present year has been propitious to the fishermen. The number caught is great, and the market good.

On the mill-stream, mentioned above, which is called Town Brook, and has its source in a small lake, named Billington's Sea, there is erected a rolling and slitting mill, together with several other water-works. The mill is said to be very productive property, and is plentifully supplied with water round the year.

In the town clerk's office we saw the earliest records of the

colony; and its original charter, in the box in which it has been kept from the beginning.

On Sunday we found a large and very decent congregation in the old church. A singular custom was here exhibited to us. More than fifty bills were read by the clergyman, desiring the prayers of the congregation for families in affliction. They were principally occasioned by the death of nine inhabitants, almost all of them at sea, which had either happened, or been first heard of during the preceding week. In such a case, it seems, a bill is presented for every branch of a family, which is particularly interested in the melancholy event.

The township of Plymouth includes three Presbyterian congregations. In 1790, it contained 2,995 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,524; and, in 1810, 4,228.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Kingston. Marshfield. Scituate. Hingham. Weymouth. Braintree. Quincy. Milton. Dorchester. Its early Settlement. Fortifications erected by General Washington. Roxbury. Reverend John Elliot, the Apostle of the Indians.

DEAR SIR;

ON Monday, October 5th, I set out with one of my companions for Boston, the other two having gone forward on Saturday. A rain, which fell on Sunday evening, left us a delightful day. We rode through Kingston, four miles; Marshfield, six; Scituate, twelve; Hingham, six; to Weymouth, four: thirty-two. During an early part of our journey we lost our way, in consequence of the removal of a post-guide.

I ought to have mentioned, that on the mill-stream which runs through Plymouth are erected two grist-mills, an oil-mill, a rolling-mill, a slitting-mill, and a mill for plating iron shovels. The stream, which originates in a large pond, descends rapidly, and furnishes always an abundance of water.

The road from Plymouth to Kingston is generally sandy, but tolerable. Near Kingston it becomes hard, on a loam mixed with gravel. The soil here is fertile, and the surface pleasant. The town contains several well-appearing houses; and the whole aspect of the country is sprightly and agreeable. Among the pleasing objects which it presented, the reappearance of thrifty New-England forest trees was not the least inviting.

Kingston contained, in 1790, 1,004 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,037; and, in 1810, 1,137.

In this town lived the Honourable William Seaver, one of the most respectable men whom I ever knew.

From Kingston to Scituate the road was better and harder than any we had ever seen since we had left Rochester.

We passed through the western parish of Marshfield, which contains a village of moderate size, compactly and tolerably well built, but with few marks either of thrift or poverty. The houses were of long standing, and imperfectly repaired.

In 1790, Marshfield contained 1,269 inhabitants; in 1801, 1,256; and, in 1810, 1,364.

As we came near Oakman's ferry, where we crossed North river, we were gratified by a succession of undulating grounds, covered with an excellent soil, and exhibiting the full New-England verdure, for the first time since we had left Rhode-Island. Several well-looking houses showed that the inhabitants had availed themselves of their advantages; and, together with a collection of thrifty groves, yielded a prospect very pleasing to us.

We crossed the river in a small, clumsy boat, rowed by a little boy; and, although it was no more than forty or fifty yards wide, experienced very serious anxiety. This stream rises in Pembroke; and, although it runs only between twenty and thirty miles, is so deep as to permit ships of three hundred tons to descend into Massachusetts'-Bay; eighteen miles distant.

Scituate, where we dined, is a collection of scattered plantations. The houses are generally decent; but the whole region wears remarkably the appearance of stillness and retirement, and the inhabitants seem to be separated in a great measure from all active intercourse with their country.

Scituate contains three congregations; two Presbyterian, and one Episcopal. The number of its inhabitants, in 1790, was 2,856; in 1800, 2,728; and, in 1810, 2,969.

Hingham is a pretty village, neatly built around a handsome church, and exhibiting proofs of wealth and taste. The ground on which it stands is however unpleasantly broken by several small elevations, formed by collections of rocks, some of them very large and unsightly, thrown together in a disagreeable confusion. It is built at the head of a bay, which is an arm of the great bay of Massachusetts. The township is about four miles square, and includes two parishes and three congregations. In 1790, it contained 337 houses, and 2,085 inha-

bitants: in 1800 the number of inhabitants was 2,112; and, in 1810, 2,382.

We arrived at Weymouth a little after sunset, and found tolerable accommodations, at a very handsome price. At the inn where we lodged, a considerable number of men and women of different ages from the neighbourhood had assembled around a table, and were employed in playing at cards. Our first parents themselves, with all the advantages of innocence and solitude, were scarcely less anxious to be concealed from inspection, or more perfectly at their ease, while pursuing the employments of Paradise. The prospect, however, was I presume singular; for in the numerous inns at which I have had occasion to lodge, while travelling more than fifteen thousand miles, I have never in any other instance seen such a collection so employed.

Weymouth, originally named Wessagusset, was first planted by Mr. Weston, an English merchant, in 1622; but the settlement being soon broken up, it was not incorporated till 1685. The surface is undulating and stony, and the soil pretty good. Excellent cheese is made here, and a little commerce carried on.

The township includes two parishes. In 1790, it contained 1,469 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,803; and, in 1810, 1,889.

The next morning we rode to Charlestown to dinner; through Braintree, Quincy, Milton, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Boston; seventeen miles.

At Weymouth the land begins to be uninterruptedly good, and the agriculture to assume a higher character. The houses also make a better appearance, are generally neat, and sometimes approach towards elegance. The country everywhere exhibits the aspect of thrift, and often of wealth. The surface is undulating and pleasant. The groves of oak and hickory, being tall and spiry, make, together with many beautiful single trees, a most pleasing impression on the traveller. At the same time there is a succession, at different intervals, of rocky protuberances, which are remarkably ragged, and follow each other so frequently, as materially to disfigure the prospect.

The beauty of this country, both natural and artificial, increased as we approached towards Boston. The surface became more soft and smiling, the houses more brilliant and more

numerous; their appendages more beautiful; and the wealth and the taste displayed, superior. Indeed, from Weymouth the country may, with little extravagance, be considered as one continued village, raised up by the commerce of Boston, and forming a kind of suburb to that capital.

Quincy is a pretty town, built on a handsome plain, around a neat church. This is the residence of Mr. Adams, lately president of the United States. We called on this gentleman, and had every reason to be gratified with our reception. He has, in the literal sense, become a farmer, and pursues the business with much spirit. This employment, originally destined for man, and therefore so well adapted to his nature, is undoubtedly the happiest resort for a gentleman retiring from the bustle of life; and is perhaps the only one which will supply the chasm left in an active mind, when separated from a long course of vigorous exertion. Every mind must have some engagement, or it will be unhappy. This, to a man of sense, must be rational and useful; to a man of curiosity, instructive; to a man of dignity, honourable. I know not how "*otium cum dignitate*" can well be found, particularly in this country, by such a man, when declining in age, in any scenes except those of agriculture. In a counting-room his appearance will be awkward and troublesome. From the bar he will be almost pushed away. In the legislature he will pine under the visible loss of reputation and influence. An office will weary him with fatigue and perplexity. Besides, decency demands that he, who is seen to stand immediately before the gates of eternity, should not spend the little period which is left him in the scramble of the present world. The very heathen seem to have felt this: it certainly ought to be felt by those who call themselves Christians.

Quincy was, till lately, a part of Braintree, and is the most beautiful part. The present Braintree is a collection of farms, distinguished from the rest of this region by nothing uncommon. The original township was settled in 1625, by a Captain Wollaston, and from him was named "Mount Wollaston." The next year he became discouraged, and went to Virginia, appointing a Mr. Fitcher his agent. Thomas Morton, who, as Mr. Prince says, had been a kind of pettifogger at Furnival's Inn, and was one of the company, excited a sedition

against Fitcher, and compelled him to flee. Morton then assumed the control of the plantation; and, having received some goods from England, began to trade with the natives. The trade was lucrative; and the company devoted their gains to rioting and drunkenness, and changed the name of the place to "Merry Mount." Soon after they began to sell arms to the savages. This alarmed the other plantations. The colony of Plymouth wrote to him very civilly, and repeatedly, requesting him to desist from this commerce, but Morton treated the proposition with contempt. Upon which Captain Standish, with a small force, came to Mount Wollaston; dispersed the rioters, leaving a few of the more sober and industrious planters; took Morton, and carried him to Plymouth. The next year he was sent back to England.

Braintree was incorporated in 1640, and Quincy in 1792. Each of these townships includes a single parish. The original township of Braintree contained, in 1790, 420 dwelling-houses, and 2,771 inhabitants; in 1800, Braintree contained 1,285 inhabitants, and Quincy 1,081; total 2,366: in 1810, Braintree contained 1,351, and Quincy 1,281; total, 2,632. Whether any part of the inhabitants have been annexed to any other township, I am ignorant.

Milton lies immediately north of Quincy. It was anciently known by the name of "Uncataquisset," and was incorporated in the year 1662. The prospects from Milton are remarkably fine. Much of the surface is elevated, and overlooks a great part of the surrounding region. A range of hills particularly, known here by the name of the "Blue Hills," presents, in full view, Boston and its environs, its harbour, Massachusetts'-Bay, together with the peninsula of Cape Cod, and the mountain Watchuset in the interior.

Milton was the summer residence of Mr. Hutchinson, the author of the History of Massachusetts'-Bay, and the last royal governor but one of that province. The letters of this gentleman concerning the political affairs of America, particularly of Massachusetts'-Bay, which have made so much noise in the world, were found in his house by Samuel Henshaw, Esq., who then occupied it. These letters have been generally supposed seriously to affect the character of Mr. Hutchinson,

If I have not been misinformed, the first paper-mill built in America was erected here.

In 1790, Milton contained 153 houses, and 1,039 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,143 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,264.

Dorchester is separated from Milton by the river Neponset, navigable for vessels of 150 tons, and eminently useful for the mill-seats which it furnishes. The surface is a succession of hills and vallies, and the landscape various and pleasant. A considerable quantity of mechanical and manufacturing business is carried on in this and the two last mentioned townships; particularly of leather, paper, shoes, snuff, chocolate, &c.

Dorchester was incorporated in the year 1730, and was settled a short time before Boston; being the oldest town, except Salem and Charlestown, in the colony of Massachusetts'-Bay. It has given birth to several persons of eminence in this country. The late Rev. Thomas Clap, president of Yale college, was of the number.

Dorchester may be considered as the cradle of Connecticut. John Oldham, afterwards murdered by the Pequods, and Samuel Hall, two of its inhabitants, had the honour of first exploring the country on Connecticut river, about Hartford, in the year 1633; and, in 1636, about one hundred persons, chiefly inhabitants of Dorchester, the rest from Cambridge and Watertown, with the Rev. Mr. Hooker at their head, planted themselves in Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. A considerable part of the first settlers in Suffolk county, on Long-Island, were also inhabitants of Dorchester.

A beautiful neck of land, commonly known by the name of "Dorchester Heights," on the south side of the basin which borders the south-eastern shore of Boston, is celebrated for being the spot whence General Washington, by the erection of two batteries, compelled the British army to quit Boston. The sight of these works, thrown up in a single night, astonished the British commander, and threw his army into confusion. When he first beheld them, in the morning of March 5th, 1776, he is said to have exclaimed, "The rebels have done more in one night than my army would do in a fortnight." The importance of these batteries he perfectly understood, and knew that it would be impossible for him to keep his post

a single day after they should be opened on the town. He therefore made vigorous preparations for attacking the works the next morning, but was prevented by a violent storm from carrying the design into execution. Had he made the attempt, he would not improbably have failed of success. By an order of the American general, a great number of barrels had been filled with sand, and were to be rolled down upon the British ranks, whenever they should approach within the proper distance. As the declivity is everywhere sufficiently steep, and remarkably smooth, this singular attack must have been made with every advantage, and could not, I think, have failed of destroying many of the assailants, nor of throwing the rest into confusion. A general discharge of cannon and musketry was then to have been opened upon them; and must, it would seem, at such a crisis have completed their overthrow. In 1776 I examined the ground with attention, and was entirely convinced, that the storm was propitious to the real interests of the British army.

After the storm was ended, the works were so far advanced as to render the prospect of success, in the opinion of General Howe himself, too improbable to permit the intended attack. He therefore began immediately the necessary preparations for leaving Boston.

Dorchester originally included the townships of Milton, Stoughton, Sharon, Canton, and Foxborough. In 1792 it contained within its present limits 256 houses, and 1,722 inhabitants; in 1800, 305 houses, and 2,347 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,930*.

* The following specimen of female prowess deserves to be recorded. It is abridged from a Kaatskill paper, July 1804.

A party of Narrhaganset Indians, hunting on the borders of Dorchester, stopped at the house of Mr. Minot, and demanded food and drink. Being refused, they went away with evident marks of resentment, and Ohquamehend, the sachem, swore that he would be revenged. For this end, he left in the bushes, near the house, an Indian named Chicataubutt, to seize the first opportunity of executing his purpose. The next morning, Mr. and Mrs. Minot went, as is supposed, to Boston. The Indian observed them, and prepared himself for mischief. Mr. Minot, apprehensive of danger, had given his maid servant a strict charge to confine herself, with their two children, to the house, and to open the door to no person until he should return. She obeyed the orders exactly. Soon after, she saw Chicataubutt cross the ferry, and proceed towards the house. After looking about him

Roxbury lies between Dorchester and Boston, nearly at an equal distance from both, and is connected with the latter of these towns by the isthmus, which is called Boston Neck.

The town of Roxbury is compactly built, the houses being in many places contiguous, and has the appearance of a pretty suburb of a large city. Many of the houses are good, and the church is handsome. The period is not very distant, when these towns may be united to the eye of a traveller, as the buildings on the Neck are fast increasing.

The rest of the township is a collection of farms of a prosperous appearance.

Roxbury is one of the oldest towns in this State, having been incorporated September 28th, 1630, three weeks after Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown. I know of nothing remarkable in its history, except that the celebrated John Elliot, commonly styled the "Apostle Elliot," and the "Apostle of the Indians," was its minister. This distinguished man was born in England in 1604, arrived in New-England in 1631, and was inducted into the ministry at Roxbury in 1632. He was naturally qualified, beyond almost any other man, for the business of a missionary; possessed a sound understanding, singular patience, fortitude, and zeal, attempered with the gentlest affections; was ardent in his benevolence; sufficiently vigorous to endure almost any fatigue; and sufficiently persevering to surmount almost any difficulty. He was not only apt to teach, but peculiarly fitted to instruct such as were slow

with the greatest caution he rushed to the door, and finding it barred, attempted to get in through the window. The young woman had placed her master's children under two brass kettles, directing them not to stir nor to make the least noise, and then loaded a musket belonging to the house, and stood upon her defence. The Indian, probably perceiving her design, fired at her, but missed his mark. She then shot him through the shoulder. Still he persisted in his design, but as he was entering the window she threw a shovel full of live coals into his face, and lodged them in his blanket. The pain which they created was too great even for a savage to endure. Chicataubutt fled, and the next day was found dead in a wood on the borders of the town.

The adventure being made known to the government of Massachusetts-Bay, this "fortissima Tyndaridarum" was by their order presented with a silver wristband, on which her name was engraved, with this motto, "She slew the Narrhaganset hunter."

of apprehension and biassed by prejudice. His addresses were plain, and remarkably intelligible. They were the language of the heart; the spontaneous effusions of evangelical good-will; and were therefore deeply felt by all who heard them. His treatment of the Indians was that of a sincere, upright, affectionate parent. In providing for their wants; in adjusting their differences; in securing them permanent settlements; in defending their rights; in preserving them from the depredations of their savage neighbours, on the one hand, and those of the colonists, especially about the time of Philip's war, on the other; in promoting among them agriculture, health, morals, and religion; and in translating the Bible into their language; this great and good man laboured with a constancy, faithfulness, and benevolence, which place his name, not unworthily, among those who are arranged immediately after the apostles of our Divine Redeemer.

He began his ministerial labours among these unhappy people in 1646, and continued them as long as the vigour of life permitted; successful beyond every hope, and against every discouragement. He died in 1690, aged eighty-six, and undoubtedly went to receive the benedictions of multitudes, who, but for him, had finally perished. To his own people he was, as you will easily believe, a pastor pre-eminently excellent and useful. Few men have ever seen religion so prosperous under their labours. Of his charitable disposition the following story is a sufficient proof:—The parish treasurer, having paid him his salary, put it into a handkerchief, and tied it into as many hard knots as he could make, to prevent him from giving it away before he reached his own house. On his way he called upon a poor family, and told them that he had brought them some relief. He then began to untie the knots; but finding it a work of great difficulty, gave the handkerchief to the mistress of the house, saying, "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you."

Mrs. Elliot, however, was an excellent economist. By her prudent attention to his affairs he was enabled, notwithstanding his liberality, to educate four sons at Harvard college, two of whom were ministers of the Gospel, and, as preachers, inferior to none of the age in which they lived.

The attachment of the people of Roxbury to Mr. Elliot may

be understood from this fact. When by the encroachments of age he had become unable to preach, he proposed to his people to relinquish his salary. To their immortal honour they answered, that they thought his presence among them amply worth the money. Who would not rather be such a man than a conqueror?

Roxbury is distributed into three parishes, and contained, in the year 1790, 287 houses, and 2,226 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,765 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,669.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Dedham. Honourable Mr. Ames. Medfield attacked by the Indians. Medway. Bellingham. Mendon. Peculiar kind of Sheep. Uxbridge. Douglas. Forests. Thompson. The Quinibaug and Country on its borders. Pomfret. Ashford. Mansfield. Coventry. Bolton. Willington. Gap in the Bolton Hills.

DEAR SIR;

WE continued at Charlestown a week, and spent our time very pleasantly among the interesting objects there and in the vicinity. On Tuesday, October 13th, we commenced our journey homeward, and passing through Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, Medfield, and Medway, reached Mendon in the evening; thirty-eight miles.

Dedham is a neat town, situated pleasantly on a plain, the south side of Charles river, eleven miles south-west of the capital. It is compactly built, the houses are generally good, and several of them are handsome.

Dedham is the shire town of the county of Norfolk, and contains three Congregational and one Episcopal churches, a court-house, and a gaol. Its aspect is that of sprightliness and prosperity. Several productive intervals, forming the margin of Charles river, add not a little to its beauty.

In Dedham lived the Honourable Fisher Ames, several years a member of the American congress. This gentleman was born here, April 9th, 1758, of respectable parents, and was educated at Harvard college, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1774. He then commenced the study of the law, and soon after he began the practice was regarded as an advocate of distinguished talents. In 1788, he was chosen a member of the convention, summoned for the purpose of ratifying the federal constitution, and a member of the house of

representatives in the state legislature the same year. The following year he was elected a representative from the district of Suffolk to the national legislature, and was regularly re-elected during the presidency of General Washington. In all these situations, particularly the last, he distinguished himself by sound wisdom, most impressive eloquence, immovable integrity, and exalted patriotism. After his speech on the necessity of making appropriations for carrying into effect the treaty with Great Britain, delivered April 28th, 1796, one of his antagonists objected to taking the vote, which was to decide the question at that time, because the house was borne away by the power of his eloquence. From this period he generally declined public business on account of the imperfect state of his health, yet he several times accepted a seat at the council board. This, however, was evidently done to serve his country, not to gratify himself. He loved retirement and delighted in his family. For public life, at the same time, he had little relish; and although for political science he felt an attachment, which approximated to enthusiasm, yet he regarded active politics with disgust. The state of his health also continued to be such while he lived, as in a great measure to forbid his entering anew into the field of political controversy. During his retirement, however, he never forgot the interests or the dangers of his country. Feeble as he was, he published within a few years before his death a series of political essays, which were then highly esteemed as specimens of original thought and superior wisdom. Few men have so much good sense as Mr. Ames possessed, and none, with whom I have conversed, a mind so ready to furnish, at every call, the facts which should be remembered, the truths which should be declared, the arguments which should be urged, language in which they might be clearly and forcibly expressed, and images with which they might be beautifully adorned. His imagination was perhaps too brilliant and too rich. It could hardly be said, that any of the pictures which it drew were ill-drawn or out of place; yet it might, I think, be truly said, that the gallery was crowded. The excess was not, however, the consequence either of a defective taste or a solicitude to shine, but the produce of a fancy ever creative, always exuberant, and exerting its powers more easily in this manner than in any

other. To speak and write, as he actually spoke and wrote, was only to permit the thoughts and images which first offered themselves to flow from his lips or his pen.

Mr. Ames was distinguished by a remarkable and very amiable simplicity of character. In circles where any man would have thought it an honour to shine, and where he always shone with superior lustre, he appeared entirely to forget himself, and to direct all his observations to the entertainment of the company, and the elucidation of the subject. Wherever he conversed, it was impossible to fail of receiving both instruction and delight. But the instruction flowed not from the pride of talents, or the ambition of being brilliant. Whatever was the field of thought, he expanded it; whatever was the theme of discussion, he gave it new splendour; but the manner in which he did both showed irresistibly, that they were the most obvious, and the least laborious, employments of such an understanding and such a fancy.

His moral character was still more estimable. His integrity appeared to be direct without effort, and even without deliberation; it appeared to be straight, because it had never been warped; to dictate what was right, because it had not yet learned to do what was wrong. His sense of rectitude, both public and personal, was not only exact, but delicate and exquisite. His patriotism was glowing.

As a public man, Mr. Ames was a distinguished object, both of envy and praise. But eminent as he was among those who were eminent, I should more strongly covet his private character. In the several relations of life which most endear, refine, and exalt human nature, he appeared with singular advantage.

Of the inspiration of the Scriptures he was firmly satisfied. It ought to be observed, that although he had read extensively the ablest works on the external evidences of revelation, yet the divine origin of the Scriptures was most deeply impressed on his mind by their contents. "No man," said he, "ever did, or ever will, become truly eloquent, without being a constant reader of the Bible, and an admirer of the purity and simplicity of its language." To a mind like his it was impossible that the dictates of a book thus regarded should be indifferent. Accordingly, he professed publicly the religion which it enjoins, and adorned his profession with a life irreproachable. Through

the great and the gay world he passed without a stain. On its follies he looked with pity, on its splendours with self-possession. No opinion, no practice was adopted by him, because it was fashionable. In the devotions of his closet, and in the duties of Christian benevolence, he found a satisfaction which grandeur rarely knows, and applause can never confer. Humble, sincere, and submissive, he often shed in intimate religious conversation the tear of contrition, and lamented his want of fervour in his addresses to God. When his end was approaching, with a consciousness that it was near, he said, "I have peace of mind. It may arise from stupidity; but I believe it is founded on a belief of the Gospel. My hope is in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ." The divinity of the Saviour he admitted without a question, and, it would seem, from a minute investigation of the subject.

The infidel and the worldly Christian, if I may be permitted to use this phraseology, will regard the last part of his character with feelings of contemptuous superiority. You, I am persuaded, will rejoice to learn that he was thus divinely wise, and will contemplate, with exquisite satisfaction, his glorious destiny, which, commencing in this manner here, will hereafter become brighter and brighter for ever.

Mr. Ames was married in the year 1792, to Frances, the third daughter of the Honourable John Worthington, formerly mentioned in my account of Springfield. By this lady he had six sons and one daughter, all of them still living.

A volume of his works was published at Boston in the year 1809.

Dedham is divided into three parishes, and contained, in 1790, 255 houses, and 1,659 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,973 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,172.

In the first parish there died in forty years, *viz.* between 1756 and 1796, 529 persons.

Of these 529 persons, 9 lived above 90.

42 . . . . . 80, and

74 . . . . . 70.

Of the whole number, therefore, there lived above

90 . . . . . 1 in 59.

80, almost . . . . . 1 in 10.

70, almost . . . . . 1 in 4.

From Dedham to Medfield the country is chiefly a forest, dull in its appearance, and in some places rough and stony. The soil is poor, and the road indifferent.

Medfield is a small, but pleasant township, bounded on the west by Charles river, and on the east by Dedham. The surface is formed of easy, graceful hills and open vallies. On the borders of the river is a chain of handsome intervals, and at a small distance from the road is built the town, a decent village.

Medway was formerly a part of Medfield; but was incorporated as a township in 1713, and now contains two parishes. Its appearance is not unlike that of Medfield, except that we saw nothing which could be called a village. The inhabitants of both these townships appear to be in good circumstances.

In the early part of Philip's war the savages, after they had destroyed Lancaster, attacked this town also. On the night preceding the 21st of February, 1765, they formed an ambush in the forests which surrounded it, and at day-break fell unexpectedly upon several of the houses. The inhabitants immediately fled toward the garrisons for shelter, *i. e.* houses encircled by palisadoes. Several of them were killed in their flight; one, a very aged man, was taken prisoner and burnt alive. About eighteen persons were slain, a considerable number of cattle destroyed, and from forty to fifty buildings consumed. Fortunately the inhabitants had a field piece in the town, at the second or third discharge of which the Indians fled. Hubbard informs us, that they left on the bridge a written note, declaring their determination to carry on the war for twenty years to come, and subjoining, that "they had nothing to lose, whereas the English had corn, barns, and houses." This assault was, I think, made upon what is now called the town of Medfield.

Medfield contained, in 1790, 731; in 1800, 745; and, in 1810, 786 inhabitants. Medway contained, in 1790, 1,035; in 1800, 1,050; and, in 1810, 1,213 inhabitants.

Medfield was incorporated in 1650; and Medway in 1713.

Bellingham, so far as it is visible on the road, differs little from Medway, except that the soil is more sandy and the surface less pleasant. It contained, in 1790, 735 inhabitants; in 1800, 704; and, in 1810, 766.

Mendon is situated on and between several ridges, running north and south. The highest of these grounds furnishes extensive prospects, possessed, however, of little variety or beauty, and of no other grandeur, except that which consists in mere amplitude. Two or three lively mill-streams murmur at the foot of these ridges, and, while they enliven the scenery, furnish seats for a considerable number of mills. The soil is either sandy, or, where it is rich, encumbered with rocks. The manners of such inhabitants, as we saw, were rather coarse and unpromising. A thinly built village of decent houses surrounds the church.

Mendon was incorporated in 1767; is divided into two parishes; and, in 1790, contained 222 houses, and 1,555 inhabitants; in 1800, 228 houses, and 1,628 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,819.

In this township, if I have been correctly informed, an ewe, belonging to one of the farmers, had twins, which he observed to differ in their structure from any other sheep in this part of the country, particularly the fore legs, which were much shorter, and were bent inward, so as distantly to resemble what are called club-feet. Their bodies were, at the same time, thicker and more clumsy. During their growth they were observed to be more gentle, less active, less inclined to wander, than other sheep, and unable to climb the stone walls, with which this region abounds. They were of different sexes. The proprietor, therefore, determined on an attempt to produce a breed of the same kind. The attempt was successful. The progeny had all the characteristics of the parents, and, although they have since multiplied to many thousands, have exhibited no material variation. I am further informed, that the breed has been crossed with a breed of a sheep common in this country, and in all instances, to the date of my last information, the lambs have entirely resembled either the sire or the dam; and have never exhibited the least discernable mixture.

These sheep are called the otter breed, from a resemblance in their structure to the animal of that name. Their flesh is said to be good mutton, and their wool not inferior to that of common sheep, either in quantity, length, or fineness. But their peculiar value consists in the quietness with which they continue in any enclosure. In a country, where stone walls

are so general as in many parts of New-England, it would seem, that sheep of this description must be almost invaluable.

We left Mendon the next morning, October 14th, and rode to Pomfret to dinner, through Uxbridge, Douglas, and Thompson; twenty-two miles. A turnpike road has been laid from Boston to Hartford, in the course which I have thus far described. We found it finished in parts. It has since been completed, and is sufficiently well made; but throughout most of the distance it winds disagreeably over hills and vallies, which make the travelling laborious and uncomfortable.

Uxbridge is possessed of a rich soil, and a surface not unpleasant. The agriculture is superior to that of any township through which we had passed. The inhabitants are accordingly wealthy and prosperous, as a traveller may easily discern by the appearance of their buildings and enclosures.

Doctor Levi Willard, an inhabitant of Uxbridge, has, for a series of years, been engaged to a considerable extent in the melancholy, but useful business, of restoring persons afflicted with delirium. In this employment he has had considerable success. One or more hospitals, for the reception of such unhappy beings, would be a valuable acquisition to New-England.

Uxbridge was originally a part of Mendon; and was incorporated in 1727. In 1760, it contained 179 houses, and 1,308 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,404 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,404.

An iron mine of some value is wrought near its south-western border.

Douglas is an unusually rocky, unpleasant spot of ground; on which, however, a considerable number of people appear to gain a comfortable living. Man must, indeed, earn his bread here with the sweat of his brow. The inhabitants must, I think, be eminently industrious, for neither their houses nor their church wear the marks of penury.

In the south-western part of this township is a large tract of forest, known by the name of the Douglas Woods. The trees, which are of oak, chesnut, &c. are of moderate size, and prove the soil to be indifferent. In the year 1805, when I passed through this region again, I perceived that the inhabitants had begun to make serious depredations on this tract. European

travellers frequently express their dissatisfaction, at seeing so considerable a part of this country, even where we think it populous, covered with groves and forests. This, undoubtedly, is the result of their habits; in other words, the countries in which they have lived are in a less degree covered with wood. My own taste and wishes are directly opposed to theirs, for in our ancient settlements I never see a grove cut down, nor a forest converted into fields, without regret. The tracts on the eastern coast of Massachusetts are, to my eye, sensibly less pleasant, on account of their naked appearance. Many groves, and those of considerable size, might be planted between Boston and Newburyport, with not a little advantage to the aspect of the country.

Douglas was incorporated in 1746; and contained, in 1790, 165 houses, and 1,079 inhabitants; in 1800, 164 houses, and 1,083 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,142.

The three last-mentioned towns are in the county of Worcester. All those which I have mentioned after Hingham, and which have been described on this journey, are in the county of Norfolk.

Douglas borders southward and westward on the state of Connecticut; and is also partly bounded on the south, together with the two preceding townships, by the state of Rhode-Island.

Thompson is the north-eastern corner of Connecticut. The eastern part of this township has a light soil. The native growth is composed of pines. The surface is alternated with plains and hills, which are small, round knolls. These are replenished with stones, from the size of pebbles to the diameter of a foot, all of them rounded as if heretofore washed for a long time by a mass of superincumbent water. Wherever I have found a surface formed of such knolls, the stones, so far as I remember, have uniformly answered this description. I do not recollect, that I ever met with an angular stone on such grounds, unless when it had been recently broken.

As we advanced farther westward, the hills, the soil, and the forests, in this township, were speedily and essentially changed. The soil became a rich loam; the groves a collection of fine thrifty oaks, &c.; the hills were loftier and more irregular, and a general appearance of prosperity overspread the

country. The houses in the eastern division are small, and of one story; but generally neat, appearing as if the inhabitants had made the best of their circumstances. With the change of the soil the houses were changed proportionally, in their size and appearance.

There are three churches in Thompson, a Methodist, which is small; a Baptist, small also; and a Presbyterian, large, decent, and surrounded by a well-built village. The rest of the township is distributed into farms. In the year 1790, Thompson contained 2,267 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,341; and, in 1810, 2,467.

Pomfret is a beautiful township, lying principally on the west side of the Quinibaug, south of Woodstock, south-west of Thompson, and west of Killingly.

This river rises in Sturbridge, in the county of Worcester, in a small lake, called Lead Ore Pond. Thence it passes through Holland, the south-east corner of the county of Hampshire, and enters Union, in the state of Connecticut. Here, with an accumulation of waters, it commences a north-western course, and, entering Massachusetts again, passes through a part of Brimfield, whence it recrosses Holland and Sturbridge, coming within a little more than a mile of its head-waters. From Sturbridge it proceeds to Woodstock in Connecticut, thence to Thompson, and, separating Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Lisbon, Norwich, Montville, and New-London, on the west, from Killingly, Plainfield, Preston, and Groton, on the east, enters the Sound at New-London. Its whole length is from ninety to one hundred miles. I have mentioned, that at Norwich it joins the Shetucket, and that the united stream is called the Thames.

This is a beautiful stream. Its waters are everywhere pure, sweet, salubrious, and well stocked with fish, and its bed is clean sand or gravel.

It is supposed to be capable of being rendered navigable for boats as far as Woodstock, with no other serious difficulty, except what arises from its length. A project for this purpose has been formed, and will hereafter, perhaps, be carried into execution.

The Quinibaug, from Lisbon almost to its source, is generally lined with handsome intervals. From these the country

rises on both sides, with ever-varying gradations, into hills of every form, and of heights, changing from the small knoll to the lofty eminence. No country of any considerable extent, which has fallen under my eye, when unaided by mountains, large rivers, lakes, or the ocean, can be compared with this for the beauty of its scenery.

The verdure, which here overspreads a great part of the whole region, is of the finest tint, and produces the most cheerful sense of fruitfulness, plenty, and prosperity. Trees, remarkable for the straightness and thriftiness of their stems, the length and beauty of their boughs and branches, and, wherever of sufficient age, for their height also, whether standing single, in groves, or in extensive forests, variegate the slopes and vallies, and cover the summits of the hills. Handsomer groves, it is presumed, cannot be found. Orchards, also, everywhere meet the eye. Herds of cattle are seen grazing the rich pastures, or quietly ruminating in the shade. Neat farm-houses, standing on the hills; a succession of pretty villages, with their churches ornamented with steeples, most of them white, and therefore cheerful and brilliant, lend the last touches of art to a picture, so finely drawn by the hand of nature.

From many eminences, bordering the valley of the Quinibaug, extensive and very inviting views may be taken of this country. In a few instances the summits of the hills are rude, rocky, and of a steep ascent, a circumstance which adds a suitable variety to the scenery, so generally soft and elegant. The river, it ought to be added, winds its course between the intervals which form its banks, fringed with willow shrubbery, and at times ornamented with stately trees.

The farmers, throughout this tract, are more generally wealthy than those of any other part of Connecticut. Their farms are chiefly devoted to grazing; and their dairies, it is believed, are superior to any others spreading over the same extent of country in the United States. The largest dairy, within my knowledge, is that of Major Daniel Putnam, son of the late Major General Putnam, so distinguished in American history for his military character and achievements. This gentleman lives in Brooklyn. The cheese made in this region is not excelled by any on this side of the Atlantic, and

not often by the best English cheese imported into this country. Mr. Matthewson, who received in Philadelphia a gold medal, for producing in the market five hundred weight of cheese, equal to the very best English cheese, according to a proposal published by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Agriculture in that city, is an inhabitant of Brooklyn, and may be considered justly as having materially improved the art of cheese-making among his neighbours.

Of the townships in this region, Pomfret is to my eye one of the most beautiful. The hills are universally arched obtusely from north to south, with a narrower arch from east to west, and in both cases remarkably exact, and regularly elegant.

Enclosures of stone, which in many instances are very good, especially those lately made, often describe, as they bend over the hills, what appears to the eye the perfect arch of a circle.

Pomfret contains a pretty village, lying partly on this road, and partly on the Norwich road, which joins it at right-angles. The inhabitants are principally a collection of sober, industrious farmers. The township is divided into two parishes, Pomfret and Abington. In 1756, when it included Thompson, the number of its inhabitants was 1,727, blacks 50; in 1774, 2,306, blacks 65; in 1790, 1768; in 1800, Pomfret contained 1,802; and, in 1810, 1,905.

We were detained at Pomfret by rain until Friday, October 16th, when we set out for Hartford, and passing through Ashford, the skirts of Mansfield, Willington, and Coventry, and then through Bolton and East-Hartford, we arrived at Hartford in the evening: forty-two miles.

The country, after we left Pomfret, wore one general aspect, until we descended the hills of Bolton into the Connecticut valley. The hills are the Lyme range, and are everywhere high, and, together with the vallies, are rough and rocky, with the exception, however, of some softer scenery along Willimantic river, which crosses the road on the eastern boundary of the county of Tolland, and on the western boundary of Mansfield. The road passes through the centre of Ashford and of Bolton. In each of these townships there is a decent village. The soil of the region between Pomfret and

Bolton is generally cold, but is tolerably good grazing ground. That of Bolton is better. Many of the houses on this road are good farmers' dwellings. The prospects from the high grounds are extensive, but neither diversified nor handsome. There is, however, a noble view from the western declivity of the Bolton hills, over the second great expansion of the Connecticut valley, substantially the same with that from the hills in Tolland, formerly described.

Ashford contained, in 1756, 1,245; in 1774, 2,243; in 1790, 2,583; in 1800, 2,445; and, in 1810, 2,532 inhabitants. Mansfield contained, in 1756, 1,614; in 1774, 2,466; in 1790, 2,635; in 1800, 2,560; and, in 1810, 2,570 inhabitants. Coventry contained, in 1756, 1,635; in 1774, 2,056; in 1790, 2,130; in 1800, 2,130; and, in 1810, 1,938 inhabitants. Bolton contained, in 1756, 766; in 1774, 1,001; in 1790, 1,293; in 1800, 1,452; and, in 1810, 700 inhabitants. Willington contained, in 1756, 650; in 1774, 1,001; in 1790, 1,212; in 1800, 1,278; and, in 1810, 1,161 inhabitants.

Between the two last periods Vernon was taken from Bolton.

Ashford and Mansfield are in the county of Windham; Bolton, Coventry, and Willington, in the county of Tolland.

Willington contains one parish, Coventry three, Bolton two, Mansfield two, and Ashford three, and two Baptist congregations.

In Mansfield both wool and silk are manufactured in considerable quantities. Silk is converted into sewing silk, and in this state is carried to the market. It is inferior to none which is imported. The wool is made into flannel.

The passage from the Bolton hills into the Connecticut valley is a curiosity. A gap, formed perhaps at the deluge, or at some subsequent convulsion, exhibits a sudden and violent separation of the westernmost ridge. In the Lyme range, on the north side, a perpendicular precipice almost immediately overhangs the road. At the foot lies a collection of rocks, tumbled from the summit and sides; some of them large, and, by the confusion in which they were thrown together, strongly suggesting to the imagination, that they were shaken off by an earthquake. Several others appeared as if

they were prepared to take the same leap. One particularly juts out so far, and is so nearly dislodged from the summit, as to seem waiting only for a signal to plunge, at any moment, into the valley beneath.

Few travellers fail to take notice of this passage. The descent is easy, and, in this spot, highly romantic. The common people, with that direct good sense for which they are so often distinguished, familiarly remark, that Providence made this gap on purpose to furnish a passage from the hills into the country below. It is extensively true, that the objects found in this world were made with a particular reference to the most important purposes which they are seen to accomplish. For the Creator intended, not only to accomplish such purposes, but to make them visible to us as proofs of his wisdom and goodness. The end here suggested is of more importance than we are able to estimate. Had not a passage been furnished by this gap between the countries eastward and westward, every traveller, to the number of several thousands annually, would have been obliged to climb a steep and difficult acclivity. Horses would have gained the summit with extreme difficulty, and carriages could scarcely have gained it at all. The descent would have been little more convenient, while it would have been obviously less safe. The difference between these two cases, during a course of centuries, becomes incalculably great, and presents an object of sufficient importance to be considered, without any irreverence, as not beneath the regard of that Being, by whom innumerable inferior wants of mankind are amply supplied.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XV.

Brooklyn. Major-General Putnam. Canterbury.

DEAR SIR;

IN the year 1805 I made a journey to Boston, accompanied by Mr. M———, of Norfolk, in Virginia. On our return we came through Providence to Plainfield, and thence through Canterbury to Brooklyn; whence, returning to Canterbury again, we passed Windham, and a skirt of Coventry, to Bolton.

Brooklyn is a beautiful township on the western side of the Quinibaug. The soil is excellent, the cultivation good, the houses generally well built, and the inhabitants in prosperous circumstances. The town is neat and pretty, and its situation handsome.

In Brooklyn lived the Honourable Israel Putnam, for some years before his death the oldest Major-General in the armies of the United States. As General Humphreys has given the public a particular and interesting account of the life of this gentleman, I shall pass over it with a few summary observations.

General Putnam was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7th, 1718. With only the advantages of a domestic education, in a plain farmer's family, and the usual instruction of a common parish school, he raised himself from the management of a farm to the command of a regiment in the last Canadian war, and, in the revolutionary war, to the second command in the armies of the United States. To these stations he rose solely by his own efforts, directed steadily to the benefit of his country, and with the cheerful as well as united suffrages of his countrymen.

Every employment, in which he engaged, he filled with reputation. In the private circles of life, as a husband,

father, friend, and companion, he was alike respected and beloved. In his manners, though somewhat more direct and blunt than most persons who have received an early polished education, he was gentlemanly and very agreeable. In his disposition he was sincere, tender-hearted, generous, and noble. It is not known that the passion of fear ever found a place in his breast. His word was regarded as an ample security for any thing for which it was pledged, and his uprightness commanded absolute confidence. His intellect was vigorous, and his wit pungent, yet pleasant and sportive. The principal part of his improvements was, however, derived from his own observation, and his correspondence with the affairs of men. During the gayest and most thoughtless period of his life he still regarded religion with profound reverence, and read the Scriptures with the deepest veneration. On the public worship of God he was a regular and very respectful attendant. In the decline of life he publicly professed the religion of the Gospel, and in the opinion of the respectable clergyman of Brooklyn, the Rev. Dr. Whitney, from whose mouth I received the information, died hopefully a Christian.

It is not so extensively known, as it ought to be, that General Putnam commanded the American forces at the battle of Breed's hill, and that to his courage and conduct the United States are particularly indebted for the advantages of that day; one of the most brilliant in the annals of this country *.

* The following is a note to the Rev. Dr. Whitney's Sermon on the death of General Putnam.

"The friends of the late General Putnam feel themselves not a little obliged to his worthy and respectable biographer, for giving to the public the distinguishing features in the General's character, and the memorable actions of his life, yet wish that a more perfect and just account had been given of the battle on Bunker's Hill, so far as General Putnam was concerned in it. In page 107 of his Life are the following words; 'The provincial generals having received advice, that the British commander in chief designed to take possession of the heights on the peninsula of Charlestown, detached a thousand men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to entrench themselves upon one of those eminences;' and in page 110th, 'In this battle the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful.'

From the first of these passages the reader is led to conclude, that the detachment was first put under the orders of General Warren: from the second that General Putnam came to General Warren's aid with a reinforce-

General Putnam was interred in the cemetery at Brooklyn. On his monument is engraved, with some trifling alterations, made merely to consult the capacity of the stone, the following inscription :

" This monument
Is erected to the memory
of
The Honourable ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq.
Major-General in the armies
of
The United States of America ;
Who was born at Salem,
In the province of Massachusetts,
On the 7th day of January, 1718;
And died at Brooklyn,
In the state of Connecticut,
On the 29th day of May, A. D. 1790.
Passenger,
If thou art a soldier,
Go not away
Till thou hast dropped a tear
Over the dust of a hero,
Who,
Ever tenderly attentive
To the lives and happiness of his men,
Dared to lead
Where any one dared to follow.

ment. The true state of the case was this. The detachment at first was put under the command of General Putnam. With it he took possession of the hill, and ordered the battle from the beginning to the end. General Warren (one of the most illustrious patriots) arrived alone on the hill, and as a volunteer joined the Americans just as the action commenced; and within half an hour received a mortal wound, while he was waxing valiant in battle, and soon expired. These facts General Putnam himself gave me soon after the battle, and also repeated them to me after his Life was printed. Colonel Humphries, in page 109th, justly observes, 'Few instances can be produced in the annals of mankind where soldiers, who had never before faced an enemy, or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valour.' The General, who encouraged and animated them by his words and example to prodigies of bravery, is highly to be honoured, and the praise not given to another, however meritorious in other respects. Other evidence, to confirm what I have said here, I am able to produce if any should call for it."

If thou art a Patriot,
Remember with gratitude
How much thou and thy Country
Owe to the disinterested and gallant exertions
Of the Patriot,
Who sleeps beneath this marble.
If thou art an honest, generous, and worthy man,
Render a sincere and cheerful tribute of respect
,, To a Man,
Whose generosity was singular;
Whose honesty was proverbial;
And
Who,
With a slender education,
With small advantages,
And without Powerful Friends,
Raised himself to universal esteem,
And to Offices of eminent distinction,
By Personal worth,
And by the diligent services
of a
Useful Life*.

* The following account of General Putnam's character, given by Dr. Whitney in the sermon above-mentioned, cannot fail of giving pleasure to his friends, and to multitudes of others by whom he was unknown.

"He was eminently a person of a public spirit, an unshaken friend to liberty, and was proof against attempts to induce him to betray and desert his country. The baits to do so were rejected with the utmost abhorrence. He was of a kind, benevolent disposition, pitiful to the distressed, charitable to the needy, and ready to assist all who wanted his help. In his family he was the tender, affectionate husband, the provident father, an example of industry and close application to business. He was a constant attendant upon the public worship of God from his youth up. He brought his family with him when he came to worship the Lord. He was not ashamed of family religion: his house was a house of prayer. For many years he was a professor of religion. In the last years of his life he often expressed a great regard for God and the things of God. There is one at least to whom he freely disclosed the workings of his mind—his conviction of sin, his grief for it, his dependence on God through the Redeemer for pardon, and his hope of a future happy existence whenever his strength and heart should fail him. This one makes mention of these things for the satisfaction and comfort of his children and friends, and can add, that being with the General a little before he died, he asked him, whether his hope of future

There are two congregations in Brooklyn; a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The latter is small. In 1790, this township contained 1,328 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,202; and, in 1810, 1,200.

Canterbury lies immediately south of Brooklyn. The town is pretty and well-built, around a very neat church, and a handsome academy. Its situation is a pleasant, rising ground, on the western side of the Quinibaug; but rather rough; and the streets are very irregular.

The people of this town were long without a clergyman. It is hardly necessary to add, that they experienced the usual consequences of this misfortune; the want of harmony, and the declension of morals. Possessed of a beautiful country, and of a soil scarcely inferior to any in New-England, with all the bounties of Providence emptied into their lap, they were still destitute of some of the best blessings, and suffered some of the most serious evils*.

Canterbury is divided into two parishes. The number of inhabitants, in 1756, was 1,280; in 1774, 2,444, blacks 52; in 1790, 1,881; in 1800, 1,812; and, in 1810, 1,812. A part of this township is supposed to have been taken off since the year 1774.

The western parish of Canterbury is both less beautiful and less fertile, but more united, peaceful, and happy.

Scotland, the eastern parish of Windham, lies immediately west of Canterbury, and is composed of an interchange of hills and vallies. The hills are, of considerable height, and handsome. Every thing here wears the aspect of fertility and thrift, of industry, sobriety, and good order. A strong image of peaceful, agricultural life, is presented by this parish to the eye of a traveller. It is wholly made up of scattered plantations.

The township of Windham is bounded eastward on Canterbury, northward on Hampton, southward on Lisbon and Le-

happiness, as formerly expressed, now attended him. His answer was in the affirmative; with a declaration of his resignation to the will of God, and his willingness even then to die."

* The inhabitants of Canterbury have within a few years settled a respectable clergyman, and there is some reason to hope that his ministry in this town will be continued.

banon, and westward on Mansfield. The first parish is composed on the east of hills and vallies, and on the west is an extensive plain, bordering Shetucket river. The former division is excellent land; the latter is light, dry, and apparently fitted for the production of grain; but it is said has hitherto resisted the efficacy of culture, and disappointed the hopes of the husbandman.

The town of Windham is built partly on the western side, and partly at the foot of a hill. The houses are more clustered than those of most New-England villages in the interior. Some of them are decent buildings; but there are many marks of decay in different parts of this town, and many proofs of the want of that thrift, so common in this country, and of the industry and prudence by which it is generated.

The public buildings are a church, an academy, a court house, and a gaol; all of them decent. The spot in which the first of these is posited bears not a little resemblance to a pound; and appears as if those, who pitched upon it, intended to shut the church out of the town, and the inhabitants out of the church.

Windham was settled in 1686 by some planters from Norwich; and was incorporated in 1702. In 1756 it contained 2,446 inhabitants, blacks 40; in 1774, 3,528, blacks 91; in 1790, 2,765; in 1800, 2,634; and, in 1810, 2,416. Since 1774 the township of Hampton, formerly one of its parishes, has been taken from it. In 1800, both these townships contained 4,013 inhabitants, blacks 99; and, in 1810, 3,690.

We dined at Windham, and in the afternoon pursued our course along the Shetucket, and after crossing the Natchaug, one of its branches, in the western part of this township, ascended for several miles another branch of the same stream, *viz.* the Willimantic, mentioned above. Then ascending the hills in Coventry, we speedily rejoined our former road, near the borders of Bolton. The country along these rivers is most of it pleasant. The valley is prettily bottomed with intervals. The hills, on the eastern side, are rough, barren, and dismal; but those on the western present an extensive slope, covered with fine farms and lofty groves, and set with a considerable number of good farmers' houses, apparently the seats of comfort and prosperity.

We lodged at Bolton, and the next morning proceeded to Hartford.

The lands below the gap, mentioned above, slope insensibly for several miles, until they reach the plain. They are formed to a great extent of earth, deeply red, and rather dry. Until lately they were esteemed of very little value; and the proprietors were poor and unenterprising. The adoption of a better husbandry has, however, totally changed both this opinion and the circumstances of the owners. By the use of gypsum, and other manures, they have been covered with rich harvests, and converted into beautiful meadows and pastures. Few farmers in the state appear to be advancing more evidently or more rapidly towards the attainment of wealth. The rest of the country on this road I have described elsewhere; and shall only add, that my companions and myself, in both of these journies, arrived at New-Haven the day following that on which we reached Hartford.

I am, Sir, &c.

JOURNEY TO WHITESTOWN.

LETTER I.

Journey to New-Lebanon. Shakers.

DEAR SIR;

ON Tuesday, September 19, 1799, I set out, in company with Mr. W. S. H.———, of Charleston, S. C. on a journey to the western parts of the state of New-York, and rode the same day to Litchfield. The next day we proceeded, in company with the Rev. Mr. Backus, of Bethlem, to Sheffield. Thursday we reached Stockbridge. Here we continued until Friday morning; when Mr. Day, now professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Yale college, and Mr. C———, of South-Carolina, joined us from Barrington, where they had been detained by the rain of the preceding day. After breakfast the whole company rode to New-Lebanon to dinner. As we crossed the Taghkannuc range, we were presented with a delightful prospect of the beautiful valley which wears that name. From this height the traveller casts his eye over a scoop, five or six miles in extent, having the fine figure of an obtuse arch inverted, filled with an uninterrupted succession of farms, highly cultivated, and covered with the most luxuriant vegetation. On these farms many good houses are erected, and every thing wears the appearance of cheerfulness and prosperity. In our way to the spring, to be mentioned hereafter, we passed a village of the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers. It consists of a small number of houses, moderately well-built, and kept, both within and without doors, in a manner very creditable to the occupants. Every thing about them was clean and tidy. Their church, a plain but neat building, had a court-yard belonging to it, which was a remarkably "smooth

shaven green." Two paths led to it from a neighbouring house, both paved with marble slabs. By these, I was informed, the men enter one end of the church, and the women the other. Even their stables, the fences which surround their fields, and the road which passes through their village, are all uncommonly neat.

The history of these people has, in a summary manner, been published by themselves, in an octavo volume, entitled "The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing;" the preface to which is subscribed by David Darrow, John Meacham, and Benjamin S. Youngs. It is supposed to have been written by a man, whose name is Wells; who is said to have been educated to some extent, I know not how great, in learning and science. In the introduction of this work we are informed, that "a few of the French prophets came over to England, about the year 1706. A few of the people" who became, it would seem, ultimately their followers, at Bolton and Manchester, in England, united themselves "in a society, under the special ministry of James and Jane Wardley." These persons were both tailors by occupation, and of the sect of Quakers; "but, receiving the spirit of the French prophets, their testimony, according to what they saw by vision and revelation from God, was, that the second appearing of Christ was at hand; and that the church was rising in her full and transcendant glory, which would effect the final downfal of Antichrist." The meetings of these people were held alternately in Bolton and Manchester, and sometimes in Mayortown. The manner of public devotion practised by them at these places was the following: "Sometimes, after assembling together, and sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were taken with a mighty trembling, under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected, under the power of God, with a mighty shaking; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor, under the influence of spiritual signs, shoving each other about, or swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind. From these strange exercises the people received the name of Shakers.

"The work which God promised to accomplish in the latter day," they say, "was eminently marked out by the prophets

to be a work of shaking; and hence the name was very properly applied to the people, who were both the subjects and instruments of the work of God in the latter day." In confirmation of this opinion they quote a number of texts, which have no application to the subject, except that they contain the word "shake." If the first verse in the first book of Chronicles had contained that word, it might have been alleged with exactly the same propriety. Among them is the passage, Haggai ii, 7, "I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come;" a prediction, which they suppose began to be fulfilled at this period. "The effects of Christ's first appearing," they observe, "were far from fulfilling the promises contained in the passages alluded to, in their full extent. Neither was the appearing of Christ, in the form of a man, so properly 'the desire of all nations;' but his second appearing," they say, "was to be manifested in that particular object, woman, which is eminently the desire of all nations."

About the year 1770, we are informed, that "the present testimony of salvation and eternal life was fully opened, according to the special gift and revelation of God, through Anne Lee, that extraordinary woman, who at that time was received by their society as their spiritual Mother." This woman was born at Manchester, in England. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith. Her husband, Abraham Stanley, was also a blacksmith. She was a cutter of hatter's fur.

About the year 1758 she joined herself to the society of Shakers; "and there, by her perfect obedience to all that she was taught, attained to the full knowledge and experience of those who stood in the foremost light." Still, it seems, "finding in herself the seeds or remains of human depravity, and a lack of the divine nature, she was frequently in such extreme agony of soul, that, clinching her hands together, the blood would flow through the pores of her skin." At length, however, she received, by special and immediate revelation from God, the testimony of God against the whole corruption of man in all.

From "the light and power of God which attended her ministry, she was received and acknowledged as the first mother, or spiritual parent, in the line of the female; and the second heir in the covenant of life, according to the present

display of the Gospel." This has been her only title among her followers to the present day.

To such as addressed her by the customary titles used by the world, she would reply, "I am Anne, the Word." One would scarcely have imagined, that this blasphemous arrogation could have met with countenance from any inhabitant, however degraded, either of Great Britain or the United States. After having been imprisoned in England, and confined in a mad-house, she set sail for America, in the spring of 1774, with a number of her followers; particularly Abraham Stanley her husband, William Lee her brother, James Whitaker, and John Hocknell, and arrived at New-York the following August. During the voyage the ship sprang a leak. When the seamen were nearly wearied out, Mother and her companions put their hands to the pumps, and thus prevented the ship from sinking. From this circumstance, plain intimations are given, that their working at the pumps was something supernatural. Mother remained in New-York, as we are informed, almost two years. She then went to Albany, and thence, in the following September, to Nisqueuna. In 1781 she began a progress through various parts of the country, particularly of New-England, which lasted, we are told, about two years and four months. The following year, "having finished the work which was given her to do, she was taken out of their sight," *i. e.* the sight of the believers, "in the ordinary way of all living, at Water Vliet, on the eighth day of the ninth month." In honest English, she died.

Since the death of Mother, the affairs of the society have been under the management of several successive persons, on whom the leading gift in the visible administration has descended.

This woman has laboured under very serious imputations. In a book, published by a Mr. Rathbone, he mentions that he had found her and one of these elders in very suspicious circumstances. She professed that she was inspired; that she carried on a continual intercourse with the invisible world, and talked familiarly with angels. She predicted, in the boldest terms, that the world would be destroyed at a given time: if I remember right, the year 1783. During the interval between the prophecy and its expected fulfilment, she directed

them to cease from their common occupations. The direction was implicitly obeyed. As the earth, however, presented no appearances of dissolution, and the skies no signs of a conflagration, it was discovered that the prophecy had been miscalculated, and her followers were ordered again to their employments. From that period they have been eminently industrious.

She also professed that she was able to work miracles, and that she was endued with the power of speaking with tongues, in the manner recorded of the apostles. Pretensions to miraculous powers, at this period, excite not only in persons of intelligence, but in most men of sober thought, indignation or contempt. In ignorant persons, especially those who have warm feelings and lively imaginations, they awaken wonder, alarm, and ultimately confidence. With the aid of a cunning, which levels its efforts directly at their degree of understanding, a ready, voluble eloquence, and a solemn air of mystery, such pretenders have usually made considerable impressions on persons of this character. Among those who assembled to hear her teach, she persuaded a small number to admit her pretensions, the sanctity of her character, and the reality of her mission from God. To these people she appears to have taught a doubtful reverence for the Bible, blended with a superior veneration for her own dictates. Wherever it sanctioned, or was supposed to sanction her own instructions, she seems to have appealed to it with readiness, as to conclusive authority. Such is evidently the conduct of her followers: but wherever it directly opposes their system, and conveys a meaning which rejects every equivocal comment, they pass it by in silence. To enthusiasts of all countries and nations, mystery has been the universal, as well as absolutely necessary resort in every difficulty; and the trick, though almost endlessly exposed, is still played off with the same success.

Of the doctrines received by her followers, besides those which are either expressed or implied in the preceding paragraph, the following appear to be among the principal: That Christ has appeared a second time in Anne Lee: that those who follow her, and they alone, understand the nature and law of God. They say, that "the throne of God was never filled by one alone; that wisdom was the helpmeet of the

Father, and held the place of the mother, and that by these two the creation was made;" that the corruption of man is the attachment between the sexes; and that Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, not by the power of the Holy Ghost, and proved his heavenly descent by a spirit of celibacy. The truth, they say, was kept undefiled for four hundred years by the true church, till Antichrist began his reign; which, they inform us, has lasted upwards of thirteen hundred years. During this period, they say, the mysterious three-fold God trod the truth under foot; but even during this period a few righteous, persecuted persons adored the everlasting Two. Christ, they say, first appeared in the Son; but, before this, the Anointing Power, which constituted Christ, dwelt in the Eternal Word, which was communicated to the patriarchs and prophets by the ministry of angels. In the same manner was the Holy Ghost given unto the apostles and true witnesses, as a spirit of promise, until the substance should be revealed and made known by the actual existence of the daughter in Christ's second appearing. They further say, that as in the fulness of time the Spirit of God descended, and abode in the Son, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Deity pertaining to man's redemption, so also in the fulness of time the Holy Ghost descended, and took up her abode in the daughter, in and by whom, united in a correspondent relation to the Son, the perfection of order in the Deity was made known, and the mystery of God finished, pertaining to the foundation of man's redemption. This daughter they call the anointed one, the second heir, a virgin soul, a mother pure and undefiled; and they say, that the Holy Ghost did bear the same pure virgin, who was the wife of a blacksmith, and the mother of four children, who grew up in the same fallen nature with the rest of mankind, and who, after having perfectly obeyed, for a length of time, all that she was taught, yet found in herself the seed or remains of human depravity to such a degree, that for about the term of nine years she frequently clinched her hands together, and the blood flowed through the pores of her skin.

The book, in which these extraordinary things are contained, informs us further, that the name Holy Ghost expresses the substance, not the order, of the mother: that *by whatever name the Holy Ghost was called*, under the dispensations

which preceded her revelation, *she is unchangeably one with the Father;* and, that the Father is revealed by the Son, and the mother by the daughter.

The book is divided into eight parts: four parts of which, together with many passages in other parts, are employed in railing at various classes of Christians, particularly those who have been generally denominated orthodox, both in ancient and modern times. For those, who have been denominated heretics, they appear to entertain much charity, particularly for the Manicheans. The style of the work is grave, remarkably abstract and mysterious; and the doctrines, taken together, a singular combination of mysticism. The spirit with which it is written is vain, arrogant, and self-righteous, without a parallel. The opinions, it is hardly necessary to observe, are not merely weak and silly, but monstrous beyond any modern example, and appear to transport the reader to Manichean ground. Yet the writer discovers, in several respects, a considerable degree of shrewdness, and often evades a difficulty in an ingenious manner. The scheme appears plainly to have been made up by minds of a very different texture from that of the writer. Materials were furnished by others, and he has put them together in the best manner he was able. The Scriptures he has distorted in every form, and often with the grossest violence, to give a seeming consistency to the system, and he has ransacked ecclesiastical history, particularly "The Ecclesiastical Researches of Robinson," for examples of gross conduct in individuals, with which he loads the character of orthodox Christians without discrimination. Were he as able to exert power as to deal in obloquy, there is little reason to doubt, that he would renew the persecution of which he so bitterly complains. From the peculiar opinion which these people hold concerning human depravity, they forbid, as you would naturally conjecture, the cohabitation of husbands and wives. Their church is, of course, to be supplied with all its future members, either by the voluntary accession of adults, or by children adopted from the families of others, or from what they emphatically call the world. Their property is in common stock, and, together with their religious concerns, under the superintendence of their leaders.

When Mother commenced her exhortations at Niskeuna,

the extraordinary nature of her pretensions, the novelty of her doctrines, and the zeal and confidence with which she urged them, soon became objects of attention. A number of people were allured to this spot by curiosity, others were impelled by enthusiasm and religious expectation, if I may be allowed the phrase; an indefinite apprehension, that something new in religion, something peculiarly important, something on which the spirit of wonder could fasten, something which would better satisfy their own wishes, than any thing which they had found elsewhere, might be derived from the instructions of Anne Lee. Out of this class she soon gained a number of adherents from various parts of the country. Some of these sold their farms, and transported themselves and their families to Nisqueuna, where they were joined by others, who had no farms to sell. Such of her disciples as were less zealous, or found a removal too inconvenient, visited Nisqueuna at stated seasons. On those occasions they showed that they were no enemies to good eating and drinking, for they were observed everywhere to load their sleighs and waggons with dainties. Expensive as this was to those who had property, it certainly was convenient to those who had none.

During the season of leisure, which was furnished by the approaching destruction of the world, Mother made a journey through various parts of the country, which, it would seem, lasted about two years and four months. In this excursion she is said to have collected from her followers all their plate, ear-rings, and other ornaments, which were formed of silver, gold, or gems.

Among their other early peculiarities this was one, that they were always under the immediate and inspiring guidance of the Spirit of God. The direction of this divine agent was made known to them by an involuntary extension of the right arm, pointing always towards some object, or business, which, though absolutely unknown to themselves, demanded, with a call from Heaven, their immediate attention. A man of my acquaintance, whose mind had always been wandering, who had gone from sect to sect, to find one sufficiently religious, and from doctrine to doctrine, to find a scheme sufficiently rigid for his own taste, ultimately attached himself to this fraternity. A gentleman, at whose house he was with some

other company, asked him to drink some punch. He declined the proposal, and said, that the Spirit did not move him to drink punch, but to something else. In an instant his right arm was stretched out, and he arose and followed the direction. It led him out of the door, in a straight line, to a hog-trough, by the side of which he dropped upon his knees, and made a hearty draught of the swill, with a number of pigs, who were regaling themselves on the same beverage.

Within a few years after the establishment was formed at Nisqueuna, another was begun at New-Lebanon; a third, as I have been told, at Jericho, in the county of Berkshire; and a fourth at Enfield, in Connecticut. There are, I believe, some other establishments of these people in this part of the American Union, and some others upon the Ohio. Each of these is under the administration of one or more individuals, who possess what they call the leading gift. The head of the society in New-Lebanon, we were informed, is a Mr. Meacham, from Enfield, formerly a Baptist. The deportment of this man is said to be like that of Mohammed, solemn, distant, and mysterious, and perfectly fitted, therefore, to make reverential impressions on the minds of his adherents. Of theology, and of every thing else which is called knowledge, he must be very ignorant, from a very defective education. But he certainly must be allowed to manage his fraternity and their economical affairs with skill and success. Under his direction, I was informed, the society have acquired considerable and valuable possessions; consisting of good houses, and lands of the best quality, well enclosed and well cultivated. The members of the fraternity are principally farmers, gardeners, and mechanics, and the business of all is done in the neatest and most effectual manner within their knowledge. Whenever they hear of an improvement in any business, pursued within their pale, they regularly possess themselves of it, if within their reach. Of course, whatever they do is well done, and whatever they offer in the market is in good reputation, and sold at a good price.

Among themselves they are said to be very harmonious and friendly, and in their treatment of others to be fair, sincere, and obliging. In seasons when the yellow fever has prevailed in New York, they have distinguished themselves by very honourable and liberal donations to the poor of that city.

Incredible as it may seem, one is tempted, from the apparent sincerity of these people in other cases, to believe them sincere in the adoption of those mental vagaries by which they are distinguished as a religious society. They profess, and appear to believe, that they are regularly inspired in their worship, that they are enabled to speak and to sing in unknown languages; that they derive their sentiments, their knowledge, their devotion, their unnatural actions, and even their tunes, from the same divine source.

I was once detained* by a snow storm at an inn, in Chequapee, a small village mentioned heretofore in the account of Springfield. A considerable number of these people were also compelled to stop at the same house. As my companions and myself had shown them some civility, they, in their turn, were civil also, and became frank and communicative beyond their common custom. One† of their considerable men was present, at least one who thought himself of this character, and he passed with his companions, as well as with himself, for a theologian of no common attainments. In the course of a long conversation, however, I found him acquainted with the Bible, just as parrots are acquainted with words. What he knew he knew only by rote, and without meaning, and was destitute of any coherent views concerning religious subjects, and of any arguments to support his opinions. At the same time he was replenished with spiritual pride and self-sufficiency, and when hardly pushed betook himself, like all other enthusiasts, to disingenuous methods, in order to avoid acknowledging that he was vanquished.

In their worship these people sung in what they called an "unknown language." It was a succession of unmeaning sounds, frequently repeated, half articulated, and plainly gotten by heart, for they all uttered the same sounds in succession. The tune with which they were at this time inspired was "Nancy Dawson."

As I found by various trials that arguments were lost upon their leader, I determined to make an experiment of the efficacy of contempt, and was not disappointed. In spite of his professions, he felt the pungency of this weapon equally

* January, 1783. † John Meacham.

with other men. From the moment that I appeared to despise him, he laboured solicitously to obtain my favourable opinion, and did not desist from his efforts until we finally parted.

Here also I learned, that these people attached a religious character to modes of dress, and esteemed it criminal to have clothes made according to any existing fashion.

In their worship they practised many contortions of the body, and distortions of the countenance. The gesticulations of the women were violent, and had been practised so often, and in such a degree, as to have fixed their features in an unnatural position; made them goggle-eyed; suffused their eyes with blood; covered their faces with a sickly paleness; and made them appear like persons just escaped, or rather just escaping, from a violent disease. The motions of the men were very moderate, and seemed rather to be condescendingly than earnestly made.

These people confidently informed me, as a proof that their fraternity possessed miraculous powers, that they had restored the broken limb of a youth at that time living in Enfield. I was soon after at Enfield, and was informed by some of the respectable inhabitants, that the friends of this youth, who were Shakers, had been induced, by the importunities of their brethren, to trust his cure to their prayers, instead of committing him, as they intended, to the care of a surgeon. The use of the limb was lost, and the patient's health ruined.

The power of working miracles they still claim, and, in the book which I have so often mentioned, a number of instances are produced, in which the effects of these powers are said to have been realised by several members of the fraternity. The writer expressly says, that "the gifts of healing, working of miracles, prophesying, discerning of spirits, divers kinds of tongues, the interpreting of tongues, &c., have been abundantly ministered through Mother and the first witnesses; and from them to others, and frequently used on various occasions." Ten instances in which persons have professedly been healed of various wounds and diseases are recorded. Five of these are testified to by the patients themselves; four are testified by one other witness to each, beside the patient; two by two witnesses, together with the patient; and one, by two witnesses,

without the testimony of the patient, who was a child of two years old.

The first of these cases existed in 1780; three of them in 1781; three in 1783; one in 1785; and two in 1789. Of the remaining two cases, one was a child two years old, and the other a boy nine or ten years of age.

The testimony, such as it was, was all taken on the 21st, 22d, 23d, and 25th of April, 1808.

The witnesses are all Shakers. The testimony is taken by two men, reputed to be leaders of the brotherhood; one of them supposed to be the writer of this book, and was plainly taken for the mere purpose of giving currency to the book, and to the system. Upon the whole, it deserves just about as much credit as those stories which begin with "Once there was a man." I have mentioned, that the company, at whose worship I was present, declared that they could speak with tongues, and that both the words and the tune which they sung were inspired. It is unnecessary to add any thing concerning the tune. I observed to them, that the sounds which they made, and which they called language, could not be words, because they were not articulated. One of the women replied, "How dost thee know, but that we speak the Hotmatot language? The language of the Hotmatots is said to be made up of such sort of words." I challenged them to speak either Greek, Latin, or French, and told them, that if they would do this, I would acknowledge that they had the power of speaking with tongues, but they were silent. They professed, not only that Mother was perfect, but that a considerable number at least of the fraternity were perfect also. I accosted the only man among them, who appeared to have any sincerity, in this manner. "Look me directly in the face, and remember that you are in the immediate presence of the all-seeing God, who is your judge and mine, and tell me, if you dare, that you are perfect, or that you ever saw any person whom you believed to be perfect." The man trembled like an aspen leaf, and after declaring that he did not consider himself as a perfect man, refused to say, and most evidently was afraid to say, that he ever had seen any person, even Mother herself, whom he believed to be perfect.

Probably there never was a sillier enthusiasm than this; yet, by a singular combination of circumstances, it has become to society the most harmless, and in some respects the most useful perhaps, of all the mental extravagances of this nature recorded in history. The doctrines are so gross that they can never spread far; while the industry, manual skill, fair dealing, and orderly behaviour of the brotherhood, render them useful members of society.

I ought to add, that Mother was boldly pronounced by them to be immortal. But after "she was taken out of their sight in the ordinary way of all living," this magnificent story, of which she was undoubtedly the author, was told no more. Had Christ uttered such a declaration concerning himself, and it had terminated in the same manner, it would have ruined all his pretensions in a moment. But this event has never disturbed the faith of the Shakers at all. Of her they plainly think as favourably as if she had been actually immortal.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Account of the Shakers, continued.

DEAR SIR;

IN several subsequent journeys through New-Lebanon I found the reputation of the Shakers, for fairness of character, sensibly lowered in the estimation of those discreet people in the neighbourhood with whom I had opportunity to converse. From the sequestered state of the society, and the little and cautious intercourse which they carry on with the rest of mankind, you will easily determine, that it must be difficult to obtain an accurate knowledge of what passes within their walls. Several individuals, however, who were once members of the brotherhood, and finally left them, have published accounts of some things which took place behind the curtain, drawn between them and the rest of mankind. From these accounts their character has begun to be better understood, and an opportunity is furnished for the acquisition of a better knowledge of some parts of their history. One of these accounts is before me, entitled, "An Account of the People called Shakers, their Faith, Doctrines, and Practice; exemplified in the Life, Conversations, and Experience of the Author, during the time while he belonged to the Society; to which is added, a History of their Rise and Progress, to the present day. By Thomas Brown, of Cornwall, Orange County, State of New-York." The book is a duodecimo volume, of three hundred and seventy-two pages, closely printed. It is written with a very commendable spirit of moderation, with strong appearances of integrity, and with a respectable share of good sense and information. The writer was originally a Quaker, and though plainly enthusiastic to a considerable degree was not sufficiently so to yield his faith, ultimately, without conviction, or against the dictates of his

own judgment. For this reason, only, he was dismissed. They were very desirous to retain him; but he had too much sense, integrity, and independence, to become a victim to the doctrines of implicit faith and passive obedience.

After he had written his book, he offered the manuscript to the Shakers for their examination; promising to correct every error, which they would point out. They replied, that they had no desire to examine his writings; that it was sufficient, that they knew him; and that they were far from considering him as competent to the task, which he had undertaken. They added, that they explicitly declared their disapprobation of his undertaking; together with several other observations, partly argumentative, and partly contemptuous; which they evidently hoped would discourage him from publishing his work. To this letter he replied with moderation, but with vigour and good sense; and with the same good sense proceeded to execute his design.

In the year 1798 he first became acquainted with the Shakers, and continued with them about seven years. During this period he appears to have examined every thing, which he heard or saw, relative to the Shakers, their doctrines, their practice, their origin, and their progress, with great care and candour; and the result of his investigations he has given to the world in this book.

To enable you to form a more just and comprehensive view of this extraordinary society, I will give you an account of some of their opinions and practices, as they are exhibited by Mr. Brown.

Two of their prime doctrines are, that "all the members of the church must be implicitly obedient to the direction of the elders, and the subordinate elders to the principal;" and

That "repeated confessions of sin to the elders, confessions, in which every sin that was remembered must be specified, are, from time to time to be made by every believer, whenever the superior elders require them." A strict conformity to these doctrines they consider as indispensable to salvation.

The chief is possessed of an authority, which seems absolutely despotic.

The elders, particularly the chief, assert, that they receive

and by the brethren are believed to receive, continually, immediate revelations from God, for the direction of both themselves and the church.

They pronounce themselves, and the believers pronounce them, infallible.

The elders expect, that the time will arrive, when creatures will not dare to contradict the gift of God: *i. e.* when men will not dare to contradict them, their opinions, or their orders.

The elders require implicit faith and passive obedience of the brethren, on penalty of perdition; and deny absolutely the right of private judgment.

They hold, that it is lawful to do that, which is immoral, or which in their own views would otherwise be immoral, for the sake of promoting their cause; and that what is done for this purpose ceases to be immoral. Thus they esteem it lawful to lie, to defraud, and to quote Scripture falsely, for the good of the church; and for the same end to get drunk, to quarrel, and to use profane language. Whether this is considered as being equally lawful for both the elders and the brethren seems in some degree uncertain. The instances, in which it was directly taught, were those in which the doctrine was advanced for the purpose of justifying crimes, which had been already committed by the elders. They also teach, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

Such as leave them, they style heretics, backsliders, liars, deceivers, impostors, and reprobates; declaring, that they are sunk below all God's creation, and will be eternally damned. This is the more extraordinary, as, when speaking of the human race at large, they assert, that no one will be eternally lost.

They declare, that they have visions of the invisible world; that spirits converse with them; that they hear angels and departed spirits sing; and that angels and departed spirits confess their sins to the chief elders.

I have before taken notice, that they claim to work miracles, to prophesy, to speak unknown languages, &c.

It is impossible not to remark the striking coincidence between these dogmas and those of popery.

They hold all books to be useless, except that, which they

have published themselves, and which has been mentioned above. This they consider as written by inspiration, and regard as superior to the writings of the prophets and apostles. All writers, who wrote before the date of their church, they pronounce to hve b een ignorant of the truth, and under what they call a back dispensation: on this account they declare the Scripture to be no better than an old almanack.

But, with all their contempt for learning, they have declared a learned copyert to be worth a thousand unlearned ones; because, forsooth, he can do more towards building up the church.

There is a striking conformity in their conduct to these principles. The following instances will show this sufciently:—

In every family there is a person called elder brother; who presides over it, and communicates to the elders the faith and behaviour of those with whom he is conversant. In this manner the elders obtain a minute acquaintance with the character and knowledge of the believers. This knowledge they declare to have been communicated by revelation. Thus they carry on a continual course of gross fraud, for the accomplishment of their primary purpose—the subjugation of these miserable men and women to their domination.

In conformity to the grand doctrine of illuminism, that the end sanctions the means, they actually falsify Scripture in a very gross measure; lie in the most palpable manner; retain the property, and refuse to pay for the labour, of such as leave them; alleging for it this reason, that they will only spend the property on their lusts.

Antecedently to the year 1793, the men and women, on a variety of occasions, danced naked.

On a particular occasion, William Lee, after a drunken frolic, professed, that he had a revelation, which required himself, and about twenty of the brethren, to dance naked. Mother Anne came to the door, and insisted on coming into the room. William pushed her out, and shut the door. She then attempted to get in at a window. William prevented her. She then forced the door open with a stick of wood. William met her at the door, and Anne struck him with her fists. William said, "The smiting of the righteous is like

precious ointment." Her blows, however, were redoubled in such rapid succession, that he at length ceased from answering them with this text; and, finding the blood running from his face, he replied with his fist, and knocked her almost down. The brethren then parted them, and, after some violent threatening on both sides, the rejoicing ended.

In another instance William Lee and James Whitaker had a dispute concerning which should be first in the lead. Anne interfered; and the affair terminated in a pitched battle between all three.

Anne was repeatedly intoxicated, as was also her brother William.

Anne was peevish and cross.

Whitaker seldom drank to excess.

Anne used to say, that spirituous liquor was one of God's good creatures.

They justified all their immoral conduct by observing, that "to the pure all things are pure;" that every thing which they did, was done in faith, with a pure conscience, to the glory of God; and that no man could judge them with a right judgment, any more than men, formerly, were able to judge Christ.

The last instance of whipping persons naked was at Nisqueuna, about the year 1793. Three young women were ordered by an eldress to whip both themselves and each other. The sentence was carried into execution in the presence, and with the approbation, of elder Timothy Hubbard, and Jonathan Slosson, one of the brethren. Elder Joseph Meacham, arriving from Lebanon *soon* after, told them, that the gift for stripping and labouring, *i. e.* dancing naked, and using corporeal punishment, or whipping naked, had entirely run out: for, as they could not keep such conduct secreted from the world, the church had already suffered much persecution on account of it, therefore there must be no such proceedings.

Anne, William, and Whitaker, taught their converts, that no practice is wrong, nor any oath false, which is adopted to gain the cause of the truth, or to defend the Gospel against error; though it might appear directly opposite to truth in the eyes of the world, yet, as done for the cause of the truth, it is to be considered as true.

The following facts are an illustration of this doctrine:—The converts were at times ordered to whip themselves, and at times were whipped by others, not only as a punishment, but for the purpose of mortifying the flesh. In conformity to this part of their scheme, a young woman was scourged by a man, named Noah Wheaton. Wheaton was prosecuted by her father; and her sister, who was present at the infliction, was summoned as a witness. She went to Whitaker, and asked him what she should say. He answered, "Speak the truth, and spare the truth, and take care not to bring the Gospel into disrepute." Accordingly she testified, that her sister was not naked. She was justified in giving this testimony, because her sister had a fillet on her hair.

They hold, that natural affection is sinful, and ought by all means to be exterminated. When children have by any means been induced to attach themselves to this society, and their parents have come to see them, the children have been instructed to treat them with gross filial impiety and abuse, and that in a manner which decency forbids to be mentioned. They have also refused a sight of their children to parents, when soliciting it with anguish, and have also concealed them, in order to prevent them from being taken away.

After the death of Whitaker, Joseph Meacham succeeded to the principal eldership in 1787. He seems to have possessed more shrewdness than any of his predecessors, and to have brought the body into better order and better circumstances than any they had known before. Under his direction they threw their property and their labours into a common stock; first by a verbal, and afterwards, in the year 1795, by a written covenant. In this they intended to invest the church with a power to do what it should think right, whenever charges should be brought against it. In the year 1800, an assistant deacon observed before some of the brethren, that as they were not an incorporated society, any one might recover wages for his services, or a compensation for the property which should be deposited in the hands of the church. This created a serious alarm. The elders told him, that he had attempted to corrupt the brethren, and to discredit the covenant which had been given to elder Meacham by revelation. The poor deacon was shut out of union, i. e. excommunicated;

and, in order to be restored, was obliged to confess on his knees that he had done wrong. They had, however, so much of their wits left as to form a new covenant, Meacham's revelation notwithstanding, and to compel every member of the brotherhood to engage, that he never would make any charge, either against the deacons or against any private brother.

Meacham was believed to be the Son of Man, spoken of by Ezekiel, and the destroyer of Gog and Magog. He died August 16, 1796, and prophesied, that before the then existing generation should pass away, the world would acknowledge this Gospel, or, in other words, become Shakers.

Lucy Wright, alias Lucy Goodrich, succeeded Meacham. They style her Mother Lucy.

Next to her was Henry Clough. From this time they sent preachers abroad. Clough died in 1798, and was succeeded by Abiathar Babbot.

Elder Hocknell, one of the original four, died February 6, 1799. Anne, William, Whitaker, and Hocknell, were pronounced to be the four living creatures mentioned by Ezekiel.

During the religious vagaries which took place in Kentucky, in 1800, and several following years, elders John Meacham, Benjamin S. Young, and Issachar Bates, were sent into the states of Kentucky and Ohio, to make converts. Their success seems to have been considerable.

One of their tenets has certainly a claim to respect. They hold, that a dirty, slovenly, careless, indolent person cannot be religious. Accordingly every member of the brotherhood, and every sister, must be continually employed in moderate labour.

I believe that they are more decent than they were in the earlier periods of their establishment. Mr. Brown observes, that several things which took place are omitted in his book for the sake of modesty; but he says they stopped every avenue of their houses, so that the world's people could not see them, and had one or two of the brethren out to watch. What passed within will probably be imperfectly known until the final disclosure. Anne called some persons who opposed her dogs, dumb dogs, and damned dogs. Several of the brotherhood professed to have gifts to curse such as censured their conduct,

and to tell others to go to Hell. There are also gifts for trembling, shaking, whirling, jerking, jumping, stamping, rolling on the ground, running with one or both hands stretched out, barking, crowing, hissing, brushing and driving the devil out of their houses, groaning, crying, laughing, loud shouting, and clapping their hands. These ridiculous extravagances seem gradually to be passing away; and instead of them there has been adopted a regular scheme of industry, of acquiring wealth, and of improving in agricultural and mechanical business.

From the administration of Joseph Meacham the affairs of the brotherhood have been formed into a system. The love of domination appears to have taken a final possession of the elderhood, and absolute submission of the brethren. The wish to rule begets of course the wish to make converts. The spirit of proselyting is now very evidently the controlling principle. Occasionally they have been, and will hereafter be joined by some shrewd individuals, who will find their passions more gratified than they can expect them to be in any other situation. By these their excesses will from time to time be pruned away; the inconveniences which obstruct their prosperity removed, and measures adopted in their stead of a more promising nature. For all this they are furnished with the most convenient of all pretences. It is only for the principal elder to say that he has a gift, *i. e.* a revelation for any change, and the thing is accomplished. As in other sects, originally enthusiastic, policy will here take place of extravagance. The reserve, the distance, the mysticism of the elders; the profound ignorance, habitual submission, and Asiatic veneration of their votaries; and the strong propensity of individuals scattered throughout the world, to relish what is strange and mysterious, merely because it is so, will in all probability prolong this delusion until it shall be terminated by the Millennium.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Journey from New-Lebanon to Minden. Valley of the Mohawk. Canajoharie. Minden. Thoughts on Religious Persecution. Palatines. German Flats. Utica. New-Hartford. Brothertown. Brothertown Indians. Observations on the Differences of Complexion in the Human Race.

DEAR SIR;

WE dined at the spring, a medicinal water long celebrated in this country for numerous cures. It is situated on the western declivity of the Taghkannuc range, and pours a considerable brook down its side. The temperature of the water is 72° on Fahrenheit's scale. It contains, according to an analysis made by Doctor Seaman, one of the surgeons of the New-York hospital, azotic gas, and a small proportion of alkaline matter. It has been found efficacious in a variety of complaints, particularly in several cutaneous affections. It has also been beneficial to persons afflicted with the chronic rheumatism. The resort to this spring has heretofore been great, but has been much lessened in consequence of the superior reputation of the waters of Ballstown.

New-Lebanon is in the township of Canaan. This town contained, in the year 1790, 6,692 inhabitants; in 1800, 5,195; and, in 1810, 4,941. It has been divided.

After dinner we rode to Schodac. The next morning we proceeded to Albany; and after dinner Mr. D——— and myself proceeded to Schenectady, where we lodged with the Rev. Dr. Edwards, lately erected president of Union college.

On Monday September 22d, having been rejoined by our companions, we left Schenectady, and, crossing the Mohawk, proceeded up that river. When we had rode about four

miles, we were stopped by rain, although we had set out with a fresh north-west wind; a proverbial sign throughout almost all New-England of fair weather. A small, dark cloud hung over a mountain, rising six or seven miles south-west of the inn, and elevated about six hundred feet above the Mohawk. This cloud, after preserving for some time a settled form, began to spread with rapidity, and soon overcast the greatest part of the hemisphere. Within half an hour it began to rain, and drove us to a shelter.

The evening before we arrived at this house (Schwartz's), a waggoner, attempting to get off from his waggon, put his hand on the back of one of his horses, to support himself while he was alighting. Both horses started; the man fell; and the waggon, passing directly over his head, killed him outright. The name of the man was Fisk. He lived on the borders of Cayuga lake. We saw his unhappy son, who had borne him company, and whose countenance wore the appearance of as deep and unfeigned sorrow as I ever beheld.

We were detained at Schwartz's until after two, when we rode to Tripe's hill, in Johnstown, sixteen miles; in the whole twenty. Here we lodged at Putnam's, a Dutchman, descended probably from one of those unfortunate people who fled from England to Holland, in order to escape persecution.

The road from Schenectady, after we left the beautiful farm of Scotia, passed over a hard pine plain, and presented nothing agreeable. The plain is uninhabited, the soil lean, and the road indifferent.

From Schwartz's it lay partly on the intervals which border the Mohawk, and partly on the oak lands which border the intervals. We found it generally tolerable, but made unpleasant by a number of small bridges, in such bad repair as frequently to alarm the traveller for his safety.

Tuesday, September 23, we rode to Canajoharie before dinner, sixteen miles; and to Hudson's, in Minden, in the afternoon, thirteen more; here we lodged. The following day we dined at the German Flats, and lodged in Utica, twenty-nine miles.

After we descended from Tripe's hill, the road passed over the intervals of the Mohawk, principally, to Canajoharie.

Here it crossed the river; and after occupying the same ground five miles farther, left the river, and passed over the hills of Minden. A little before we arrived at Hudson's, it returned to the river again, and thence kept along its borders most of the way to Utica. On the intervals it is good in dry weather; but in wet is muddy, and extremely disagreeable. On the hills it was indifferent, but perhaps as good as could be expected in a country so recently settled.

The valley of the Mohawk is rarely more than a mile and a half in breadth, and generally not more than a mile. It is bounded by two long ranges of hills, or rather brows, which border it with little variety and less beauty. These are almost covered and crowned by trees, neither thrifty nor handsome. Beyond these limits the eye is rarely permitted to wander, and soon becomes wearied by such a constant succession of the same objects. To compensate the traveller, the river is for a great extent in full view; a sprightly, noble stream, sixty rods in breadth at Schenectady, and gradually lessening to about twelve or sixteen at Utica. Its waters are always delightful, and are often ornamented with elegant islands. The intervals on both sides are rich and handsome. At the time of our journey particularly, the numerous meadows, after having been scorched by drought, had been clothed by successive rains with a fresh verdure, peculiarly vivid. The settlements along this river are almost universally scattered plantations; almost all the inhabitants being farmers, of Dutch extraction. In most of the older settlements the houses are generally good comfortable Dutch houses. The cultivation is moderately good also; and is pursued in exactly the same manner in which it was begun by their ancestors, and confined almost entirely to wheat, peas, and grass; the latter of which, however, is always an inferior object of attention. The circumstances of the inhabitants appear to be easy, and their life quiet and unenterprising.

Between Schenectady and Utica (eighty miles), we saw only three churches, and only four places, which could with any propriety be called villages; one at Caghnawaga, containing fifteen or twenty houses, with a small church; a scattered settlement around the church in Canajoharie; a third, more

compact, at the German Flats; and a fourth on the opposite side of the Mohawk, at Herkimer. We passed also a few miserably-looking school-houses, which plainly owed their appearance to the want, not of wealth, but of a sufficient attachment to education.

An observing traveller could not fail to conclude, that these people must be extensively destitute both of knowledge and morals *. If the information, which, from respectable sources, I received on the spot, may be credited, low vices are unhappily prevalent among them. Fathers have not very unfrequently been seen at the gaming table with their sons, endeavouring to win money from each other, swearing at each other, charging each other with cheating and lying, and both at very late hours intoxicated.

What must be the sentiments of a child towards a parent, whom he habitually sees in these attitudes; and with the idea of whom, instead of that venerable character, which alone ought ever to meet his eye, or recur to his remembrance, these ingredients of deformity must be necessarily associated? All the authority which such a father can retain must be derived from bodily strength, or the possession of property. The parental character he can never assume; religious instruction and reproof he can never give. The inestimable benefit of a virtuous example from him, in whom it would have more influence than in half mankind, his children can never receive. On the contrary, he himself becomes their corrupter, both by his conversation and his conduct. The guide, who should conduct them to Heaven, takes them by the hand and leads them to perdition.

Among the causes, which here assemble multitudes with high pulsations of hope and pleasure, a horse-race is one of the most memorable. This diversion, when least exceptionable, is a deplorable exhibition of human debasement. The gentleman here dwindles at once into a jockey; imbibes his spirit; assumes his station; and, what is worse, sinks to the level of his morality. The plain man, at the same time, becomes a mere brute; swears, curses, cheats, lies, and gets drunk; extinguishing at once virtue, reason, and character. Horse-

racing is the box of Pandora, from which more and greater mischiefs flow than any man ever counted or measured. You are not to conclude that this is the universal character of these people. The exceptions are numerous; but fewer, I am afraid, than a man of candour would expect to find.

I have mentioned that we lodged at the house of a Dutchman, named Putnam, and also at Hudson's, a German from the Electorate of Hanover. Both of these men, descended from English ancestors, were driven out of their native country by religious persecution. While I was conversing with Hudson, I could not but reflect upon the effects of this outrage upon human society, whether dictated by religion or politics. The number of those who have been forced to quit their home, property, and friends; nay, the number of those who have been robbed of life, can scarcely be estimated. The arts which the persecuted have carried with them, the sufferings which they have undergone, the hospitality and unkindness which they have alternately received, the colonies which they have formed, the changes which they have produced in the people to whom they have fled, and the amalgamation of their descendants with the various nations among whom they have fixed their final residence, would, if fairly exhibited, present one very interesting picture of human destiny.

Religious persecution commenced on the plain of Dura*. Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image as the favourite object of his own worship, and resolved that his subjects should worship it also. To ensure their compliance, he constructed a furnace of vast capacity, and raised its fires to the most intense heat which the ingenuity of the age could supply. To

* This, at least, is the first example which I remember recorded in authentic history. But Achior, captain of the Ammonitish bands in the army of Holofernes, relates in the book of Judith, chapter 5th, verse 8th, an occurrence of this nature, which took place more than thirteen centuries before that which is mentioned in the text. Speaking of the ancestors of the Israelites, he says, "They left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of Heaven, the God whom they knew. So they (the Chaldeans) cast them out from the face of their gods; and they fled into Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many days." If the records of history had been more extended and more correct, it is not improbable that we should find very many other instances of the same kind.

this engine of torture he consigned those who should refuse their homage to his idol. The three friends of Daniel, with an independence of soul, a sublimity of virtue, demanding the admiration of all succeeding ages, refused to bow before this senseless god, and by the wrathful monarch were plunged into the flames.

This simple tale is the history of all religious persecution. The god, really set up, is always equally senseless, and the demand equally brutal. No man, in the indulgence of this spirit, ever intended to compel the objects of his persecution to embrace the real religion, or worship the true God. Real religion discerns, at a glance, that Jehovah is the only Lord of the conscience, and feels, of course, that this high prerogative cannot without the grossest impiety be challenged by man. At the same time its affections towards its fellow-men are only kind, and the only instruments by which it induces upon mankind a change of their faith are the sound arguments by which its doctrines are supported, its fervent prayers to Heaven, and its own lovely, persuasive example.

In every attempt of this nature we intend, whatever we may profess, to make others worship what we worship, and to believe what we believe. The design, whether understood by us or not, is to make them bow to ourselves, and not to God.

Political persecution springs from exactly the same source.

The object proposed is in its own nature incapable of being accomplished. It is physically impossible, that faith should bow to force. The only effect of this instrument of domination is to render the religion enjoined, and those who profess it, hateful in the eyes of the sufferers. With the unhappy Mexicans, they conclude irresistibly that the religion itself is false, or that it is disbelieved by men, who, to disseminate it, are guilty of such horrid crimes.

It is on the one hand an object of diversion, and on the other of equal indignation and contempt, that infidels have charged religious persecution to Christianity. That some, who were really Christians, have been weak, enthusiastic, and misled, to such a degree as to believe themselves justified in persecuting their fellow-men on the score of religion, cannot be denied. It will be readily granted, also, that endless multitudes, who have taken to themselves the name of Christians,

and a great part of whom were really baptized, have been villains enough to persecute others in the exercise of pride, avarice, and wrath; but what has all this to do with Christianity? just as much as pretences with friendship; a pharisaical face with piety, or bullying with bravery. Is any part of this conduct warranted by the Bible? Are not the spirit and the practice both forbidden everywhere in the sacred volume, under infinite sanctions? This the infidel perfectly knows, and yet, with unblushing impudence, reiterates the same old charge, just as if it had not been ten thousand times refuted.

In the year 1800, Minden, which lies wholly on the south side of the Mohawk, contained 2,929 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 4,788.

In this township, at a place now called the Old Indian Castle, lived the Mohawk sachem, commonly styled the great Hendrick. The site of his house is a handsome elevation, commanding a considerable prospect of the neighbouring country. Of this man I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe here, that for capacity, bravery, vigour of mind, and immoveable integrity, united, he excelled all the aboriginal inhabitants of the United States, of whom any knowledge has come down to the present time. A gentleman of a very respectable character, who was present at a council, held with the Six Nations by the governor of New-York, and several agents of distinction from New-England, informed me, that his figure and countenance were singularly impressive and commanding, that his eloquence was of the same superior character, and that he appeared as if born to control other men, and possessed an air of majesty, unrivalled within his knowledge.

The German Flats, originally so called, are two extensive intervals, lying on both sides of the Mohawk, together about a mile in breadth, and, perhaps, from three to four in length. They are beautiful and very fertile tracts. A colony of Germans, named Palatines, because many of them came from the two Palatinates, left their native country in the year 1709, to escape persecution, and came over to England. They were very kindly received by the British government, and treated with great liberality by Queen Anne. The house of commons, however, complained of squandering away great sums upon

the Palatines, who, they said, were a useless people, a mixture of all religions, and dangerous to the constitution. Nay, they went so far as to declare, that they held those who advised the bringing of them over, to be enemies to the Queen and kingdom.

Brigadier Hunter, being appointed governor of New-York, brought over with him 2,700 of these people, a considerable number of whom settled themselves in the city of New-York; another body in Pennsylvania; another in the manor of Livingston; and a fourth came to this spot. A fifth company settled at Cherry Valley. Those who planted themselves at the German Flats have been subjected to many serious disadvantages. For a long period this was a frontier settlement, and, of course, exposed during a war to alarms and invasions, without any assistance at hand. It is said, that they have always behaved with great spirit, and have certainly maintained their ground, in spite of both the French and the savages.

Their distance from other settlements prevented them, also, from all those benefits of knowledge and improvement, which are derived from civilized society. The settlers themselves were extremely ignorant. Their children became, if possible, more and more ignorant; for they were destitute for a long time even of the means of parochial education. Their own language they spoke with increasing imperfection, and the English they scarcely spoke at all. A specimen of their ignorance was communicated to me by one of their own countrymen, who, in more auspicious circumstances, had risen to intelligence and respectability. He was one day attempting to convince some of them, that the congressional stamp act was a reasonable and useful law, and observed, particularly, that it required nothing to be stamped, except such papers as were employed either to convey or secure property. They answered, that they did not care for that; if the government stamped papers now, it would soon put stamps upon their waggons, on their horses, on their wheat, and on every thing which they had.

Their village, which is on the south side of the river, is composed of ordinary houses, built in the Dutch manner, with few windows, many doors, dark sheds over the principal doors,

leantos behind, and awkward additions at the ends. They are of one story, and in a few instances of a story and a half, and frequently look like a collection of kitchens.

In this village is one of three churches, which stand between Schenectady and Utica.

The township of German Flats contained, in 1790, 1,307 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,637; and, in 1810, 2,228.

Utica, when we passed through it on our journey, was a pretty village, containing fifty houses. In 1794, there were but two; and, in 1795, but six. In 1804, there were one hundred and twenty, beside a numerous train of merchants' stores and other buildings. It is built on the spot where Fort Schuyler formerly stood. Its site is the declivity of the hill, which bounds the valley of the Mohawk, and here slopes easily and elegantly to the interval. The houses stand almost all on a single street, parallel to the river. Generally, those which were built before our arrival were small; not being intended for permanent habitations. The settlers were almost wholly traders and mechanics, and it was said, that their business had already become considerable. Their expectations of future prosperity were raised to the highest pitch, and not a doubt was entertained, that their village would at no great distance of time become the emporium of all the commerce carried on between the ocean and a vast interior. These apprehensions, although partially well founded, appeared to me extravagant. Commerce is often capricious, and demands of her votaries a degree of wisdom, moderation, and integrity, to fix her residence and secure her favours, which is much more frequently seen in old than in new establishments.

We found the people of Utica labouring, and in a fair way to labour, a long time, under one very serious disadvantage. The lands, on which they live, are chiefly owned by persons who reside at a distance, and who refuse to sell or to rent them, except on terms which are exorbitant. The stories which are heard concerning this subject it was difficult to believe, even when told by persons of the best reputation. If the tenants dream, the landlords are delirious.

A company of gentlemen in Helland, who have purchased large tracts of land in this state and Pennsylvania, and among them a considerable tract in this neighbourhood, and who are

known by the name of the Holland Company, have built here a large brick house, to serve as an inn.

The people of Utica are united with those of Whitesborough in their parochial concerns.

We continued at Utica until near noon the next day, and then rode to New-Hartford to dinner, four miles. In the afternoon we proceeded to Laird's, at the entrance of the Oneida woods, seven miles.

New-Hartford is the first New-England settlement, which we found in this region. Accordingly it presented us a very neat church, ornamented with a pretty steeple. The houses, also, are built in the New-England manner, and are generally neat, and for so recent a settlement are unusually good. The lands are excellent and well cultivated, and every thing wore the cheerful air of rapid improvement. The business of tanning, particularly, is carried on upon a large scale. No settlement, merely rural, since we left New-Lebanon, can be compared with New-Hartford for sprightliness, thrift, and beauty. From Utica to this village a turnpike is begun, and considerably advanced. It is to be extended hereafter into the western country, as far as the circumstances of the inhabitants will permit. No improvement can be more necessary in this region.

The land between Utica and Laird's is what in New-England is called beech and maple land, and here maple and bass land. The soil of such lands so easily admits, and so long retains, water as to be almost always moist. Fire, therefore, will scarcely spread over them even in the driest seasons. Hence the surface is covered with a thick stratum of vegetable mould, the residuum of decayed forests, accumulated for forty centuries. This mould, as I have elsewhere observed, is a mere sponge, imbibing water with the utmost facility, and retaining it for a length of time. Roads, formed on such ground, are almost always soft, in moist seasons a mass of mud, and in wet seasons intolerable. Travelling, therefore, in an early period of their settlement, is not merely uncomfortable and discouraging, but an Herculean labour.

Before we arrived at Laird's, I had become convinced, that to complete our intended journey was impracticable. While we were at Utica we were told by our host, that it had rained

every day for a fortnight before our arrival. Of the truth of this account we had the most ample proof. The last thirty-two miles of our journey, the mud had obliged us to walk our horses. The travellers, who had come in from the western country, had united in representing the season as more rainy, and the roads as deeper than had ever been known before. If we should proceed, we must make our way through three hundred and sixty miles of the softest soil in this country, much of it encumbered with roots, stumps, and other concomitants of new roads. My companions, however, were unwilling to give up the enterprise; but, while we were at Laird's, ten travellers came in from the west, who satisfied us all, that any farther attempt was inexpedient. The roads, they informed us, were worse than they had ever been. Their horses were drenched in the mire to the hips and shoulders, and the riders were pale and broken-spirited with excessive fatigue. To have pursued a journey of pleasure in such circumstances would have been madness. After dinner, therefore, we rode to Paris, where I lodged at the house of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas. The distance was only three miles.

In the morning of September 26th, accompanied by Samuel Kirkland, Esq., nephew to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, we made an excursion to Brothertown, an Indian settlement, included in the township of Paris. I had a strong inclination to see civilized Indian life, *i. e.* Indian life in the most advanced state of civilization in which it is found in this country, and was informed, that it might probably be seen here.

Brothertown is a tract of land about six miles square. Originally it belonged to the Oneidas. By them it was given, and by the state of New-York confirmed, to a collection of Indians, who left Connecticut for this place under the conduct of the Rev. Sampson Occum. They were chiefly residents in Montville and Farmington, and were in number about one hundred and fifty. The settlement is formed on the declivity of a hill, running from north to south. The land is excellent, and the spot in every respect well chosen.

Here forty families of these people have fixed themselves in the business of agriculture. They have cleared the ground on both sides of the road about a quarter of a mile in breadth,

and about four miles in length. Three of them have framed houses. One, named Amos Hutton, has a good house well finished, and a large barn well built. Several others have barns also. The remaining houses are of logs, and differ little from those of the whites, when formed of the same materials.

Their husbandry is generally much inferior to that of the white people. Their fences are indifferent, and their meadows and arable grounds are imperfectly cleared. Indeed almost everywhere is visible that slack hand, that disposition to leave every thing unfinished, which peculiarly characterizes such Indians as have left the savage life. I have observed, that the house and barn of Amos Hutton were both well built. We had an opportunity to see the interior of the house, and by the neatness which everywhere appeared, both in the building and furniture, were assured that his wife was an industrious and thorough housewife. Mr. Kirkland informed me, that this man lives well; that he keeps always one, and sometimes two yoke of good oxen, two or three horses, and three or four cows; that he is an exact paymaster; and that although no debt against an Indian is recoverable by law, he is readily trusted for any thing which he is willing to buy. He is probably the fairest example of industry, economy, and punctuality, which these people can boast. Most of them will leave their own business to labour for the white inhabitants.

These are universally civil in their deportment. The men and boys took off their hats, and the girls courtesied, as we passed by them. They speak decent English, and much excel the ordinary Dutch people in the correctness of their pronunciation. One of them tends a saw mill, built by the state for this settlement.

A Quaker, who is a well-appearing man, and of a good character, has come to Brothertown with his family, and resided here some time, for the benevolent purpose of teaching the Indian children to read and write. He told me, that they learn as readily and rapidly as the children of the whites. Their school-house was built for them by the state, and serves them as a church.

These people receive annually 2,160 dollars from the state, out of which their schoolmaster is supported, and their super-

intendent compensated for his services. At this season of the year they unite with the Oneidas in gathering ginseng, and collect a thousand bushels annually. It brings them two dollars a bushel. Almost all of it goes to Philadelphia, and thence to China. It is however an unprofitable business to the Indians. They are paid for it in cash, which many of them employ as the means of intoxication. This is commonly followed by quarrelling, and sometimes by murder; but much less commonly than among the Oneidas.

You will excuse me for giving you this sketch of civilized Indian life, because it presents to you one feature in the character of man rarely seen by persons really civilized, and hitherto untouched by the pens of others.

From one of my pupils, Mr. Hart, now the minister at Stonington, I received the following account of four Brothertown Indians, in a letter dated September 5, 1797.

"Among these Indians I observed the following singular facts, *viz.* four men, whose skin in different parts of their body has turned white. Where the skin is not exposed to the sun, and the change has been of long standing, it has completely lost its natural colour, and become entirely white.

"The instance, least remarkable, is Elijah Wampey, jun., aged thirty-five. On the back part of his left hand is a spot about the bigness of a cent, which four weeks since began to change its colour, and has in this short period approached to a degree of whiteness truly surprising. The part does not in any way appear affected by the change, excepting the colour, and is not attended with any degree of pain.

"The next instance is Andrew Carrycomb, aged fifty. The sides of his body are white; in other respects similar to the one above-mentioned.

"The next is Ephraim Pharaoh, aged fifty-two, a remarkably strong, healthy man. His left breast and shoulder are almost entirely white.

"But the most remarkable instance is Samuel Adams, aged fifty-seven. He is almost become a white man. He gave me the following account.

"That fourteen years since his skin began in a number of places to change its colour; that it changed gradually, until it reached its present degree of whiteness; that no pain what-

ever attended the change; that there was no difference in the feeling of the parts affected from that of those which were not; that the change had no effect on his internal feeling; that his health had been generally sound; and that he had led a laborious life, and still felt no particular weakness, but what was common at his time of life.

"The hair on his head still retains its original Indian colour, excepting a part, which has the same appearance as the grey hair of aged white people. The appearance of the skin on the parts changed is different. Where it has been exposed to the sun, it appears of a darkish colour. Where it has not been exposed, it appears tender and delicately white. The skin lately changed appears like that of a child, and through the apparent stages of changing advances gradually from infancy to full age.

"Another circumstance worthy of notice is, that the parts, which are not exposed to the sun, change more rapidly than those which are thus exposed.

"I dare not hazard any conjectures on the causes of these phenomena. The facts cannot be disputed, although the causes and the *modus operandi* may be unknown. Persons, who have daily intercourse with these Indians, suppose them to be leprous. The facts, however, show that there is no foundation for this supposition. The skin is perfectly smooth and fresh, without the least appearance of the white scales and loathsomeness, which are consequent on leprosy. Besides, they are all sound, healthy, labouring men.

"So little attention has been paid to these extraordinary facts, that persons, who have been for years intimately acquainted with these Indians, have not taken pains to examine them."

From this account, the accuracy as well as the truth of which may be relied on with perfect confidence, it is evident, that a change in several of the race of red men, by which in every instance they have become in some degree, and in one almost absolutely, white men, has actually taken place under the eye of indubitable testimony. This change has existed also without the least appearance of disease. All the subjects of it being, in the words of Mr. Hart, "sound, healthy, labouring men."

I have myself been an eye witness of the same great fact in a black man. Henry Moss, a native of Virginia, came in the year 1796 to New-Haven, and to my house. It had been previously declared in a Virginia newspaper, that he was born in that state; that he was originally black, woolly-headed, of a sober, honest character, and was remarkably changed in his complexion; that the change began about four years before, and had gradually spread over the greatest part of his body. All this he confirmed to me in conversation. His understanding appeared not to be inferior to that of white men generally, when equally uneducated; and an unquestionable ingenuousness of character strongly recommended him to the esteem of a stranger.

According to his own account, he began to become white under and around the roots of his finger nails, and had always whitened more and faster where his skin was, than where it was not covered. During the whole period he was in perfect health, and conscious of no peculiar sensation, except a small and barely perceptible degree of feeling in the places affected, more than in the other parts of his body. His whole appearance corresponded with his story. His face and hands were partially whitened, without any visible regularity in the process, and were so spotted with alternations of white and black, as to be hideous. His breast, arms, legs, and thighs, were wholly white, and of a clear, fresh, and delicate complexion. The skin was not pale, nor the finer blood-vessels at all concealed. Nor is a fresher colour often found in white people, nor more complete evidence of the total absence of disease.

Wherever the skin was become white, the hair also was totally changed, and was exactly that of fair white people, of a flaxen hue, and perfectly free from curling. On his head a spot, beginning at the crown, and extending towards the forehead, shaped somewhat like a bowl of a table-spoon, but narrower and longer, had become white. Two or three smaller spots exhibited exactly the same changes. Around all these, limited by an exact line, the skin was black and the hair black and woolly; in other words, the hair of a black man. Both these appearances extended over the rest of the head.

The whitening process was still going on, and not less

rapidly than at any preceding period. I saw him about four years afterwards, and found him considerably advanced in this progress, and still a healthy, sound man.

From these accounts I derive the following observations:—

1. The whitening process in all these instances began in small spots, and was gradually extended.

2. All the subjects were, from the beginning, healthy men.

3. They were not sensible of any material change of feeling in the parts affected.

4. They were occupied during the whole time, the journies of Henry Moss excepted, in their usual labours, and were without any change in their modes of living.

5. Disease had no influence towards the accomplishment of the change.

6. The change of the hair was intimately connected with the change of the skin, less strikingly in the red men, but with the fullest evidence in the black man.

7. Hence I argue, that the colour of the skin, and the texture and appearance of the hair, depend on a common cause. This is, indeed, rationally conjectured from the appearance of moles on white persons. These, when black, are often covered with black curled hair, differing altogether from that which is on other parts of the body.

8. From these facts I infer also, that the external appearances of the complexion and hair on the human body are not original, nor at all essential to the nature of the body. All these men continued in every other particular the same in body and mind, while they were yet entirely changed in complexion to a considerable extent. I except Wampey, on whom the change, having very lately begun, had extended over a small spot only. Moss and Adams were almost entirely white, without an alteration in any other respect than that of the hair, and even without a new sensation, except the trifling one, mentioned concerning Moss. These appearances, therefore, were not essential, but incidental; not original, but superinduced upon the human constitution. In other words, men are not red, black, nor white, necessarily; but merely as incidental circumstances direct.

9. Hence I conclude, that the varieties observed in the complexion and hair of the human species, furnish no probable

argument, that they sprang from different original stocks. The three great varieties are white, black, and red. On the two last classes these changes have here taken place, and on one of each they have been almost completed. A black man in one instance, and a red man in another, have become almost entirely white men, and without any such change in the internal parts of the constitution as to occasion a single new sensation of any importance. Of white men, therefore, others may have become red, or black men, with changes equally unessential. That this has really taken place is fairly presumable from the facts here recounted. The ordinary course of Providence, operating agreeably to natural and established laws, has wrought the change here. A similar course of Providence is therefore justly concluded to have wrought the change from white to red, and to black; or, what is perhaps more probable, from red to white on the one hand, and from red to black on the other. The change here, so far as it has existed, has been accomplished in a few years. How easily, as well as how imperceptibly, may it have been accomplished during the lapse of ages! The Cushites on the mountains of Habesh have been black for thirty centuries. The Colchians, who were black in the time of Herodotus, are now as white as the people of Europe. The Jews have every tint of complexion, from that of Poland, Germany, and Britain, to that of the black Jews in Hindostan. The change of the blacks, whose ancestors were introduced into New-England, is already very great, as to their shape, features, hair, and complexion. Within the last thirty years I have not seen a single person of African descent, who was not many shades whiter than the blacks, formerly imported directly from Guinea.

The account given above of Henry Moss was written soon after he was at my house. At that time he produced several certificates from respectable men in Virginia and Maryland, fully attesting his integrity, and those parts of his history which I have recited.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Hamilton. Oneida Academy. Paris. Iron Mine. The Measures adopted for the Support of Religion in this State unhappy, and the Laws imperfect. Rome. Battle between the English and Indians under Sir John Johnson and the American Militia under General Herkimer. Canal. Siege of Fort Stanwix.

DEAR SIR;

WE returned to Paris before dinner, and spent the afternoon in visiting Hamilton Oneida academy, and in an interesting conversation with several of the trustees concerning its present state, its prospects, and the means of increasing its usefulness and reputation. This seminary is already of considerable importance, and contains fifty-two students of both sexes, under the care of two instructors. The scheme of education professedly pursued in it includes the English, Latin, and Greek languages, and most of the liberal arts and sciences. An academical building is erected for it, eighty-eight feet long and forty-six feet wide, of three stories, on a noble, healthy eminence, commanding a rich and extensive prospect. It is, however, but partially finished*.

The township of Paris lies immediately south of Whitestown. It contains four parishes, of which Clinton is the most considerable. This township is part of a tract, more than

* This seminary was in the year 1811 converted into a college, with funds amounting to 100,000 dollars, and the assurance of 50,000 more. Half of their present funds was derived from contributions raised by the gentlemen of the neighbouring county; the other half was given by the state. It is named Hamilton college, after the late secretary of the American treasury. The Rev. Dr. Backus of Bethlem was chosen president, and has entered on the duties of his office. There are the best reasons for believing that it will prove a source of extensive benefit to the western country of New-York.

thirty miles square; the soil of which is probably not inferior to any other of the same extent in this state. It is of the same kind with that of Hartford, formerly mentioned, and of the best quality. All the vegetable productions of the climate flourish here. A farmer this year had two hundred bushels of peaches, which he sold for a dollar a bushel. Every other product thrives equally well, except flax; which grows, indeed, very rankly; but the coat, or rind, is imperfect. Within a short period, when the land shall have been cultivated a little longer, this inconvenience will probably cease.

The surface of this township is composed of handsome hills and vallies. The principal valley is watered by the Oriskany, a fine, sprightly mill-stream, flowing at the bottom of two beautiful slopes through a rich border of intervals, and furnishing a succession of mill-seats. The church, a building honourable to the inhabitants of so new a settlement, stands in a small but pretty village built in this valley. The surrounding country is a collection of handsome farms. The forests in this township are composed of beech, maple, bass, &c. When these trees are felled, they are often imperfectly replaced by a new growth; and give, therefore, too much reason to fear, that timber and fuel at no great distance of time will become scarce.

A vast multitude of the stones in this township are, to a great extent, composed of small marine shells; often in their original state, but generally petrified. A fourth, a half, and sometimes three-fourths, of the whole mass are frequently made of these shells, particularly of escallops and muscles. Such as I saw in a state of petrifaction were of a dirty brown colour: the rest were as white as when found on the shore of the ocean. They were aggregated in all positions. These and other marine exuviæ are found in vast quantities throughout a great extent of this country, and on the highest grounds. Immense multitudes of oyster shells, a great number of them not petrified, are embodied in large masses of lime stone at Cherry Valley, about sixty miles west of Albany.

The water throughout this country is almost universally impregnated with lime. One spring only was mentioned to me as yielding water, which is fit for washing, within the parish of Clinton.

Clay abounds here, and throughout all the neighbouring country.

Half a mile east of the church we examined an iron mine, which is on the southern bank of a small stream. Above the bed of ore lies a mass of slate, horizontally stratified, of a light brown colour, and about ten feet in thickness. The strata are not much thicker than the blade of a case-knife; and are so friable as to be easily pulverized.

The ore is different from any, which I had before seen. It lies in strata, like those of the slate in their general appearance, but from one to three feet in thickness. The stone is of a handsome claret colour; and its mass is composed of grains, resembling clover seeds in their size and form, but flatted in a small degree, and united by a cement, apparently of an oily nature. They cohere so loosely as to be easily separable by the pressure and attrition of the fingers. In front of the mine lay a large quantity of them, separated, and washed clean; and neither the sight, nor the touch, could without some attention distinguish them from clover seed, when sufficiently wet to adhere together by the attraction of the water. Of these grains a pigment is made by pulverizing them, which is much more brilliant than the mass itself.

This ore is supposed to be very rich; but I was not able to obtain any correct account of its produce. It is said to abound in this region, both on the surface, and at every depth to which it has been explored.

There are three Presbyterian congregations in this township, and two clergymen. These gentlemen, though held in high estimation, and deservedly loved by their parishioners, consider themselves as holding their connection with their congregations by a very precarious tenure. The laws of this state concerning the support of clergymen are so loosely, and so unwisely formed, as to leave them in a great measure dependent on the fluctuating feelings of parishioners, rendered much more fluctuating by the laws themselves. A voluntary contribution, except in a large town, is as uncertain as the wind; and a chameleon only can expect to derive a permanent support from this source.

By several very respectable gentlemen, with whom I conversed largely on this subject, I was informed, that the oppo-

sition to supporting clergymen by law had lately very much increased among the New-England people of this region. My informants believed, that not more than one-tenth of the principal inhabitants, and not more than a twentieth of the people at large, are in favour of this system. This is a lamentable degeneracy.

In 1790, Paris was a part of Whitestown: in 1796 the number of its inhabitants was 3,459; in 1800, 4,721; and, in 1810, 5,418.

At Whitesborough I lodged with Mr. B———; and in his family, and those of several gentlemen of this village, received all the civilities, which flow from polite hospitality. On the Sabbath I attended public worship with Mr. Dodd, the very worthy and excellent minister of this people. He died not long after our journey, and has left behind him a name, which is as the odour of sweet incense.

Monday, September 30th, we set out for Rome. Mr. S———, a student of law in this town from Yale college, accompanied us. Our road lay along the Mohawk; which, however, was hidden by the forest on its borders. The distance is twelve miles.

Rome is a township, bordering upon Whitestown on the North-west. Its surface is generally undulating, its soil similar to that of Whitestown, but the settlements fewer and more recent.

On the road the spot was pointed out to me, where General Herkimer seated himself under a tree, after having received a mortal wound, with an invincible resolution to maintain the conflict.

When General Burgoyne commenced his expedition against the United States, he directed Lieutenant Colonel Baron St. Leger, with a body of troops, consisting of British, American refugees, Germans, Canadians, and Savages, from 1,500 to 1,800 in number, to proceed from Montreal by Lake Ontario, to attack Fort Stanwix, and after taking that fortress to march down the Mohawk to Albany. St. Leger arrived at Fort Stanwix in the beginning of August, 1777. On the news of his approach, General Herkimer, a respectable descendant from one of the German colonists, mentioned above, commanding the militia of Tryon county, assembled a

body of 800 men, and marched to the relief of the garrison. He arrived within six or seven miles of the fort on the 6th of August. From his scouts he had learned, that a body of troops, under Sir John Johnson, had been dispatched by St. Leger to intercept him. He determined, therefore, to halt, and choose his own ground for the contest; but his troops, who were raw militia, without any discipline, insisted peremptorily on being led immediately to the attack. The general, after remonstrating with his usual good sense, and telling them roundly, that, ardent as they were, they would run at the first appearance of the enemy, and after finding all his efforts vain, resolved to lead them on, although he clearly foresaw the disastrous issue. Accordingly he coolly moved on to what he considered as almost certain destruction. At the very first fire of the enemy a large proportion of these violent men fled instantly*; leaving their gallant chief, with

* It ought to be transmitted to future generations, as a fact in which not improbably they may find an interest, that men of the same description, men who have made a figure in mobs, who have been ready on all occasions to resist government and disturb the peace of their neighbours, have very generally acted, in similar circumstances, like those mentioned in the text. They have been clamorous to be led to battle, until the enemy was in sight, and have then usually run away. These are what in our newspapers were customarily called '76-men; men who at that time, and at all others, have disturbed the peace of society, done all the mischief, and prevented or destroyed all the good which was in their power: men who were then, are now, and at all other times have been, nuisances to society. Posterity ought to know, that men of this description can have no reliance placed on them in the time of danger; that their warfare is carried on by words, and not by muskets; and that they will certainly deceive the confidence which is reposed in them. Their whole character is perfectly described in the poetical account of the crane, given in Tommy Trip's History of Birds:—

"So long his neck, so sharp his bill,
You'd think the crane was form'd to kill;
But view his legs; you'd surely say,
He's better form'd to run away.'"

By the violence of these mob-men, as they are emphatically called by our plain people, General Herkimer lost his life; a more costly sacrifice to his country than the loss of thousands of these miserable wretches.

The real men of '76 were such as fought at Breed's hill and at Stillwater; the sober, steady yeomanry of the country; whom nothing could daunt, and nothing but a superior force overpower. On such men it is to be hoped future generations will learn to place their reliance in seasons of danger.

the remainder of his troops, to sustain the attack. These men fought like lions; and came to close quarters with the enemy. The firing in a great measure ceased; and the conflict was carried on with knives, bayonets, and the butt-ends of muskets. A considerable number of the Indians were killed. The survivors were, of course, thrown into a rage. The mode of fighting was novel, and the native jealousy of these people started into their minds a suspicion, that their own friends had leagued with the Americans to destroy them. Under its influence they fired upon the British as well as upon the Americans. The confusion became intense and universal. Such of Herkimer's troops as had neither fled nor fallen had posted themselves behind logs and trees; and, animated by their brave chief, wounded as he was, fought the enemy with such resolution, that Sir John finally retreated, and left them the ground. Herkimer speedily expired. Congress voted a monument to his memory; which, with those voted to General Washington and General Wooster, will, it is supposed, be erected when Queen Ann's fifty new churches are finished, and the United States shall have purchased all the remaining countries of North and South America.

The Americans lost in this battle 160 men killed, and about 240 wounded and prisoners. The loss of the British will never be known. The Indians left more than 70 of their number on the field. Among the slain and wounded Americans, were several persons of reputation and influence*.

Two miles below Fort Stanwix a canal commences at the Mohawk, which unites its waters with those of Wood-creek. This stream has its outlet in the Oneida lake, or rather runs through it into Onondaga river, the common channel of all the waters in a numerous train of lakes to be mentioned hereafter. This river joins lake Ontario, at Oswego; a spot well known in the history of American campaigns. A part of these united waters meet the ocean at Sandy-Hook, and another part at the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In this quarter, therefore, Rome is the separating ground between the waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence.

* This account of Herkimer's rencounter differs from those which have been published. I received it from gentlemen living near the scene of action, who had had the best opportunities of gaining correct information.

The canal is of sufficient breadth and depth to admit the common boats of the Mohawk. At both ends it is secured by locks. Hitherto it has been little used.

The village of Rome is a very unpromising copy of the great exemplar from which it has derived its name. The land on which it is built is poor, and surrounded by alders or half-starved trees. The houses are about twenty in number, and decent in their appearance: the whole aspect is uninviting. The proprietor of the ground, a gentleman of New-York, believing, as proprietors usually do, that his lands will soon be very valuable, has taken effectual care to prevent them from becoming so, by distributing them into small house lots, demanding excessive rents, and adopting other unwise measures.

The canal, through which, when the outlets are open, runs a sprightly stream, adds not a little cheerfulness to the village. Nor is this the only benefit derived from it by the inhabitants. The base of their settlement is composed almost wholly of small round stones. The canal being dug to a depth considerably lower than their cellars, heretofore wet and troublesome, has effectually drained them. The water also in the upper part of the wells, which was of a bad quality, has by the same means been drawn off; and the remainder, flowing from a deeper source, has become materially sweeter and better.

Fort Stanwix is still in a tolerable degree of preservation. It is what is sometimes called a round work, built about sixty or eighty rods north-eastward from the centre of this village; not of a regular figure, but suited to that of the ground. It was surrounded by a deep ditch, and three rows of palisadoes, which are still remaining. In the centre stands a small and miserable block-house. On the north-east spreads a handsome interval, the only fertile or pleasant ground in the neighbourhood.

This fortress, then in an indifferent state of repair, was defended by Colonel Ganseyoort against Baron St. Leger and Sir John Johnson, in the expedition already mentioned.

Sir John had scarcely left the ground, to attack General Herkimer, when Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, at the head of a party from the garrison, made a sortie upon the enemy; and,

falling upon their camp unexpectedly, drove them out of it almost without resistance. A part fled into the woods, and a part crossed the river; while Willet plundered the camp of muskets, blankets, and various other articles of considerable value. A party of the British attempted to intercept his return to the fort; but, with a field-piece and a vigorous musketry, he attacked them with so much spirit, that they fled a second time. Several of the enemy fell, and among them some of the principal Indian warriors. Willet did not lose a man.

At the return of Sir John, St. Leger summoned Gansevoort in a verbal message, sufficiently pompous and menacing, to surrender. Gansevoort refused to receive the message. The next day he received a written demand of the same nature, exhibiting in magnificent terms the successes of General Burgoyne, the strength of the army under St. Leger, the terrible determination of the savages, his own efforts to soften their ferocity, and the hopeless situation of the garrison. The laboured strain of this declamation, instead of producing its intended effect, only persuaded the Americans that St. Leger's affairs were not very prosperous, nor his army very formidable. Gansevoort therefore answered, that, being entrusted by his country with the command of the fort, he would defend it to the last, without any regard to consequences.

The situation of the garrison, though not desperate, was far from being promising. Relief was necessary for them; and Gansevoort determined to advertise, if possible, the country below of his circumstances. Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwell readily undertook this hazardous mission. An Indian enemy is in a sense always at hand, and always awake. He is always roaming from place to place; the chance of escaping him scarcely exists; and the consequence of falling into his hands is almost of course fatal. These gallant men, however, crept on their hands and knees through the enemy's encampment; and, skilled in the mysteries of Indian war, and adopting the various arts of concealment which men, accustomed to forests, acquire with extreme accuracy, they arrived safely at the German Flats; whence without danger they pursued their course directly to the head-quarters of General Schuyler, then commanding the American army at Stillwater.

Schuyler immediately dispatched a body of troops to the

relief of Gansevoort, under the command of General Arnold, who volunteered his services on the occasion. As he was advancing up the Mohawk, a Mr. Schuyler, who was a nephew of General Herkimer (but who was a tory, and accused of being a spy), was brought into his camp. After examining the circumstances, Arnold wisely determined to avail himself of this man's services. He proposed to him a scheme for alarming the enemy, particularly the savages, by announcing to them, that a formidable army was in full march to destroy them; and assured him of his life and estate if he would enter heartily into the interests of his country, and faithfully execute a mission of this nature. Schuyler, who was shrewd, resolute, versed in the language and manners of the Indians, acquainted with some of their chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified for this business, readily engaged in the enterprise. His father and brother were in the mean time kept as hostages for his fidelity; and were both to be hung without mercy, if he proved unfaithful. One of the sachems of the Six Nations, a friend of the Americans, and of Schuyler also, was let into the secret, and cheerfully embarked in the design. Having settled the whole plan of proceeding with this warrior, Schuyler made the best of his way to Fort Stanwix.

Colonel St. Leger had pushed the siege with considerable activity, and advanced his works within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort. Upon Schuyler's arrival he told a lamentable story of his being taken by Arnold, his escape from hanging, and the danger which he had encountered in his flight. He showed them, also, several holes made by shot in his coat, while he was attempting to escape; and declared, at the same time, that a formidable army of Americans was marching with full speed to attack the British. The Americans, he observed, had no hostility toward the Indians, and wished not to injure them; but added, that if the Indians continued with the British, they must unquestionably take their share of whatever calamities might befal their allies.

The Indians being thus thoroughly alarmed, the chief who was in the secret arrived, as if by mere accident; and in the mysterious manner of that people, began to insinuate to his countrymen, that a bird had brought him intelligence of great moment. This hint set their curiosity afloat, and excited a

series of anxious inquiries. To these he replied in hints and suggestions, concerning warriors in great numbers, marching with the utmost rapidity, and already far advanced. In the meantime he had dispatched two or three young warriors in search of intelligence. These scouts, who had received their cue, returned, as they had been directed, at different times; and confirmed, as if by mere accident also, all that had been said by Schuyler and the sachem. The Indians, already disgusted with the service, which they found a mere contrast to the promises of the British commanders and their own expectations, and sore with the loss which they had sustained in the battle with General Herkimer, were now so completely alarmed, that they determined upon an immediate retreat.

St. Leger, who had unwisely boasted at first of his own strength, and his future exploits against the Americans, and spoken contemptuously of their weakness and cowardice; who had predicted, in magnificent terms, the certainty of their flight, and the ease and safety with which the Indians would reach Albany, had disgusted these people thoroughly, by failing altogether of the fulfilment of his promises. In vain, therefore, did he exert all his address, when he saw them preparing to quit the ground, to dissuade them from their purpose. He exhorted, argued, and promised in vain. They reproached him with having violated all his former promises, and pronounced him undeserving of any further confidence. He attempted to get them drunk, but they refused to drink. When he found all his efforts fruitless, and saw that they were determined to go, he urged them to move in the rear of his army, but they charged him with a design to sacrifice them for his own safety. In a mixture of rage and despair, he broke up his encampment with such haste, that he left his tents, cannon, and stores to the besieged. The flight of this army (for it could not be called a retreat) was through a deep forest, and the spongy soil which I have elsewhere described. The road was imperfectly made, and encumbered with all the difficulties incident to new roads on such a surface. The march was therefore not a little embarrassed and distressing. The sachem, who had been partner with Schuyler in the plot, accompanied the flying army. Naturally a wag, and pleased to see the garrison rescued from their danger, he engaged several of

his young men to repeat, at proper intervals, the cry "They are coming." This unwelcome sound, you will easily believe, quickened the march of the fugitives whenever it was heard. The soldiers threw away their packs, and the commanders took care not to be in the rear. Mortified beyond measure by so disastrous an issue of an expedition, from which they had promised themselves no small reputation and profit, these gentlemen began speedily to accuse each other of folly and misconduct, in their respective departments, during the enterprise. Accusation begat accusation, and reproach, reproach; until they at length drew their swords upon each other. Several of the sachems now interfered; and with that native good sense, which is found everywhere, persuaded them to a reconciliation. After much fatigue, and at least an equal degree of mortification, they finally reached the Oneida lake; and there, probably, felt themselves for the first time secure from the pursuit of their enemies.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Story of Captain Greg. Whitesborough. Judge White. Herkimer. Canal at Little Falls. Captain Butler. Destruction of Cherry Valley. Canajoharoo. Canajoharie.

DEAR SIR;

IN the autumn, when the siege of Fort Stanwix was raised, the following occurrence took place here:—Captain Greg, one of the American officers left in the garrison, went out one afternoon with a corporal, belonging to the same corps, to shoot pigeons. When the day, was far advanced, Greg, knowing that the savages were at times prowling round the fort, determined to return. At that moment a small flock of pigeons alighted upon a tree in the vicinity. The corporal proposed to try a shot at them; and, having approached sufficiently near, was in the act of elevating his piece towards the pigeons, when the report of two muskets, discharged by unknown hands, at a small distance, was heard; the same instant Greg saw his companion fall, and felt himsely badly wounded in the side. He tried to stand; but speedily fell, and in a moment perceived a huge Indian taking long strides towards him, with a tomahawk in his hand. The savage struck him several blows on the head, drew his knife, cut a circle through the skin from his forehead to the crown, and then drew off the scalp with his teeth. At the approach of the savage, Greg had counterfeited the appearance of being dead with as much address as he could use, and succeeded so far as to persuade his butcher that he was really dead; otherwise, measures still more effectual would have been employed to dispatch him. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the pain produced by these wounds was intense and dreadful. Those on the head

were, however, far the most excruciating, although that in his side was believed by him to be mortal. The savages, having finished their bloody business, withdrew.

As soon as they were fairly gone, Greg, who had seen his companion fall, determined, if possible, to make his way to the spot where he lay, from a persuasion, that if he could place his head upon the corporal's body, it would in some degree relieve his excessive anguish. Accordingly he made an effort to rise; and, having with great difficulty succeeded, immediately fell. He was not only weak and distressed, but had been deprived of the power of self-command by the blows of the tomahawk. Strongly prompted, however, by this little hope of mitigating his sufferings, he made a second attempt, and again fell. After several unsuccessful efforts, he finally regained possession of his feet; and, staggering slowly through the forest, he at length reached the spot where the corporal lay. The Indian, who had marked him for his prey, took a surer aim than his fellow, and killed him outright. Greg found him lifeless and scalped. With some difficulty he laid his own head upon the body of his companion; and, as he had hoped, found material relief from this position.

While he was enjoying this little comfort, he met with trouble from a new quarter. A small dog, which belonged to him, and had accompanied him in his hunting, but to which he had been hitherto wholly inattentive, now came up to him in an apparent agony; and, leaping around him in a variety of involuntary motions, yelped, whined, and cried, in an unusual manner, to the no small molestation of his master. Greg was not in a situation to bear the disturbance even of affection. He tried in every way which he could think of to force the dog from him, but he tried in vain. At length, wearied by his cries and agitations, and not knowing how to put an end to them, he addressed the animal as if he had been a rational being: "If you wish so much to help me, go and call some one to my relief." At these words the creature instantly left him, and ran through the forest at full speed, to the great comfort of his master, who now hoped to die quietly.

The dog made his way directly to three men belonging to the garrison, who were fishing at the distance of a mile from the scene of this tragedy. As soon as he came up to them, he

began to cry in the same afflicting manner; and, advancing near them, turned, and went slowly back towards the point where his master lay, keeping his eye continually on the men. All this he repeated several times. At length one of the men observed to his companions, that there was something very extraordinary in the actions of the dog; and that, in his opinion, they ought to find out the cause. His companions were of the same mind; and they immediately set out, with an intention to follow the animal whither he should lead them. After they had pursued him some distance, and found nothing, they became discouraged. The sun was set, and the forest was dangerous. They therefore determined to return. The moment the dog saw them wheel about, he began to cry with increased violence; and, coming up to the men, took hold of the skirts of their coats with his teeth, and attempted to pull them towards the point to which he had before directed their course. When they stopped again, he leaned his back against the back part of their legs, as if endeavouring to push them onward to his master. Astonished at this conduct of the dog, they agreed, after a little deliberation, to follow him until he should stop. The animal conducted them directly to his master. They found him still living, and after burying the corporal as well as they could, they carried Greg to the fort. Here his wounds were dressed with the utmost care, and such assistance was rendered to him as proved the means of restoring him to perfect health.

This story I received from Captain Edward Bulkley, a respectable officer of General Parson's brigade. Greg himself, a few days before, communicated all the particulars to Captain Bulkley. I will only add, what I never think of without pain, and what I am sure every one of my readers will regret, that not long after a brutal fellow wantonly shot this meritorious and faithful dog.

Rome was incorporated in 1796, and in 1800 contained 1,479 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,003.

On our return we examined the locks of the canal at the eastern extremity, as we had before done at the western, and were not a little surprised to see the bricks, composing the walls of the locks and the common outlet, already beginning to moulder away, although the work had been finished little

more than two years. I have seen no good bricks in this region. In fire-places they are soon burnt out; whenever they are exposed to the weather they speedily dissolve.

We reached Whitesborough in the evening. This pretty village is built on a handsome plain, bordering the interval of the Mohawk. The houses, which for so new a settlement are uncommonly good, stand on a single street, parallel to the river, straight, smooth, and beautiful. It contains two churches; a Presbyterian, erected at an early date of the settlement, small, and indifferent; and a Baptist, better but unfinished. Several genteel families reside here, who are eminently hospitable to strangers, and furnish each other the pleasures of polished society.

Judge White, the father of this settlement, was originally an inhabitant of Middletown, in Connecticut. In the year 1785, his own family, and that of Moses Foot, Esquire, were the only inhabitants in the tract, extending from the German Flats to the Oneida reservation; containing, under the name of Whitestown, the present township of that name, together with those of Paris and Westmoreland, an area of about one hundred and fifty square miles. In 1796 there were in this tract 7,359 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 10,575; and, in the year 1810, 11,465. When Mr. White came first to this spot, and for a considerable time afterward, he was obliged to convey all the corn consumed in his family to mills at the German Flats. The hardships, which I have elsewhere mentioned as suffered by settlers upon new lands, he was compelled to undergo, but in the end found himself sufficiently rewarded by a large estate, and a circle of respectable neighbours. There are now about sixty houses in this village.

In the year 1800, the present Whitestown contained 4,212 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,912.

The next morning, Tuesday, October 1st, leaving my companions at Whitesborough, I rode to Herkimer in company with Mr. B———. At Utica we crossed the Mohawk; and just after we had passed the bridge a man was pointed out to me, who, together with his whole family, consisting of nine or ten persons, were afflicted with the goitres.

Herkimer is a small village at the confluence of the Mohawk and West Canada creek, twenty miles from Whitesborough.

The country between Utica and Herkimer is chiefly a wilderness, and the road indifferent. The expansion, here, I found to be larger than it appeared from the other side of the river. From the hills, which terminate it on the eastern side of the creek, it extends westward not less than seven miles, and its breadth, where greatest, is not less than two. The village, consisting of about thirty houses, is built upon a small elevation, about a mile from both of these streams. They are chiefly Dutch buildings. This piece of ground is in a great measure filled with small round stones, appearing as if their angles had been worn off by being long under water, and is supposed by the inhabitants to have been anciently the bottom of a lake. The situation is, I think, pleasanter than that of any other village in this region. The public buildings are an old and very ordinary Dutch church, and a court house, a decent building, as are several of the modern dwelling-houses.

Herkimer is the shire town of the county bearing the same name. Some of the Dutch inhabitants have been planted here many years. It is now filling up with colonists from New-England.

In 1790, this township contained, probably within limits very different from the present, 1,525 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,534; and, in 1810, 2,743.

Wednesday, October 2, I rode to Canajoharie, by the Little Falls; seven miles below Herkimer. At this place the Mohawk, passing between two mountains, runs over a rift of rocks, scarcely two-thirds of a mile in length, and in this distance descends between thirty and forty feet. To connect the navigation above with that below, a canal of the same length is partly dug, and partly blown out of the rock, of sufficient depth and breadth to admit the boats of this river. It is guarded at both ends by locks. I thought the work well executed, and was informed that it answers the expectations of the company.

This canal, and that at Rome, it is said, cost, together, 400,000 dollars.

In the appearance of these falls there is nothing very interesting, but the surrounding objects cannot fail to engage the attention of a curious traveller. The hills on both sides are steep and ragged, and strike the eye at a glance, as if they

formerly were united, and, thus presenting a barrier to the waters of the Mohawk, converted them into a large lake, which covered all the low grounds, as far back as the hills west of Whitesborough. On the north side particularly, both at and below the falls, the rocks exhibit the most evident proofs of having been formerly worn and washed for a long period. I saw these proofs, when returning from Niagara, strikingly exhibited, not less as I judged than forty feet, and am informed, that the same appearances exist more than one hundred feet above the present level of the stream. The hills, bordering the intervals of the Mohawk westward of this spot, have generally the appearance of banks, and the stones in many other places, beside Herkimer, resemble those which are found at the bottom of lakes and rivers.

These falls are in the township of Herkimer.

I crossed the river at this place, and entered Minden. The road, after it leaves the Mohawk, passes over a hill, called Pleasant hill, the seat of the celebrated Hendrick.

I dined at Hudson's. East Canada creek joins the Mohawk directly opposite this house. Beside this creek, at a small distance from the Mohawk, fell Captain Butler, son of Colonel John Butler, a noted partisan of the British in the revolutionary war. This man is consigned to immortal infamy by the baseness, treachery, and cruelty, with which he betrayed Colonel Zebulon Butler, a respectable American officer at Fort Kingston, under the sacred exhibition of a flag; and butchered and burnt the garrisons and people of Kingston and Wilkesbarre, consisting of men, women, and children. Young Butler left Canada in company with Colonel Brandt, on an expedition against the town of Cherry Valley, a Dutch settlement about twenty-five miles south of this place. Colonel Alden, the American commander, with a want of vigilance which cannot be excused, suffered himself to be surprised, and, having lodged without the fort, was killed on his way thither. The town was attacked about day break. For three hours the invading party, consisting of about five hundred British, refugees, and Indians, assaulted the fort; when, finding the attempt hopeless, they fell upon the town, plundered and burnt the houses, and butchered such of the inhabitants as could not escape.

After this work of devastation was finished, Butler marched to Fort Plain, a settlement in the township of Canajoharie, which he destroyed in the same manner. Near Hudson's, seven miles above Fort Plain, he crossed the Mohawk, and, following his party at some distance in the rear, was overtaken by two Indian chiefs, of the Oneida tribe, and wounded with a musket ball. When his enemies came up, he begged for quarter; but one of them, with a hoarse and terrible voice, cried out "Sherry Valley!" and dispatched him instantly with a tomahawk; a dreadful, but just reward for his tiger-like cruelty.

An accident took place in this expedition, not less honourable to Brandt than disgraceful to Butler. Butler and his cut-throats had just entered a house in Cherry Valley, the mistress of which was then lying in child-bed, and ordered both the mother and the infant to be butchered. At that moment Brandt coming up, cried out, "What, kill a woman and child! No; that child is not an enemy to the king, nor a friend to the congress. Long before he will be big enough to do any mischief, the dispute will be settled." He then set a guard at the door, and thus saved the lives of both parent and child. These facts were communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

Immediately after I left Hudson's, I was presented with a prospect entirely novel to me. Ten women, of German extraction, were arranged in front of a little building, busily employed in dressing flax. In my childhood I had seen women, in a small number of instances, busied in the proper labour of men, particularly in raking hay immediately before a shower, when the pressing nature of the case demanded extraordinary exertions. Even this I had not seen for thirty years. Women in New-England are employed only in and about the house, and in the proper business of the sex. I do not know, that I was ever more struck with the strangeness of any sight, than with the appearance and business of these German females.

I arrived at Canajoharie in the evening, and the next day was rejoined by my companions, and by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

At the proposal of two respectable young gentlemen engaged here in extensive business, we all visited the Canajoharoo*, or Great boiling pot, as it is called by the Six Nations. This pot is a vast cavity in a mass of lime-stone, forming the bed of the mill-stream, to which it gives its name. The dimensions of the cavity are twenty-two feet diameter one way, and eighteen the other. The bottom was so covered with stones and gravel, that its depth could not be exactly ascertained. To the gravel it was eight feet, and without a reasonable doubt was two feet deeper. Its form is that of an oval, somewhat irregular. The brim is almost an exact level. The sides, and, so far as we could examine it, the bottom, are remarkably smooth and handsome. It was full of water, received from one small current, and escaping by another. The water was perfectly quiet, pure, and of an elegant, light sea-green. Nothing could be more beautiful. It is questionable whether another cavity of the same kind, and of equal dimensions, can be found in this country, perhaps in the world. I ought to observe, that I am indebted for these dimensions to the information of gentlemen, living in the vicinity.

When the water is high, it pours furiously down the ledge of the same rock, crossing the stream just above, into the Canajoharoo, and causes it to boil with a singular violence, and to exhibit the appearance of a caldron, foaming with vehement agitations over its brim. Had Homer and Virgil seen this phenomenon in its most advantageous situation, it would, I think, have added not a little splendour to the similes which they have derived from the objects, which it so much resembles. The surrounding scenery would have improved the picture, when drawn by such hands, in a wonderful degree. The whole course of this stream, so far as we ascended it, which was a mile and a half, is partly over a bed of lime-stone, extending just above the Canajoharoo, and partly over a stratum of slate. The banks, which at our entrance into this scene were perhaps fifty feet in height, gradually ascended for about half a mile, till they reached the height of one hundred and fifty. This height, commencing just above the great basin,

* So the word is spelt by Mr. Kirkland.

they maintained for about three-fourths of a mile farther. The chasm, every where from two to three hundred feet wide, is worn through the solid slate by the united power of the stream and the atmosphere. Of this substance, stratified in laminæ, often not thicker than a knife-blade, the banks are entirely formed. These laminæ, like those on the banks of the Mohawk formerly mentioned, are so fragile as to be easily broken and pulled out by the fingers, and when the hand is drawn with moderate force, they descend along the side of the precipice, in a shower.

Below runs a beautiful stream over a bed, clean and handsome, and with its continual windings, elegant cascades, and diversified murmurs, forms the only cheerful object in view, except the long narrow stripe of azure seen over head. On both sides rise stupendous walls of a deep black, awful with their hanging precipices, which are hollowed into a thousand fantastical forms; here shelving over you, there upright, and everywhere varied by the wild hand of nature. Long ranges of trees on both sides, overhanging the precipices, increase the obscurity and finish the picture.

As you advance up the stream, you proceed in a grand and gloomy vista, not sufficiently straight to show what is before you, until you suddenly arrive at a cascade sixty feet in height, where the water descends with a sufficient approximation to perpendicularity to convert the current from a sheet into a mass of foam, perfectly white and elegant. A little below is a basin, hollowed out of the rock, so deep as to be black, and above, the eye traces the avenue through a considerable distance, until it is finally lost in the gloomy windings of the chasm.

The impression, made by this singular scene, is not a little increased by an interesting relic of animated existence. On the brow of the western precipice, so near that the walls of his mansion are visible below, lived, some years since, a hermit, who chose in this solitary spot to seclude himself from the walks of man. One of the gentlemen present engaged to obtain for me his history; but the engagement, like many others of a similar nature, was never fulfilled. This is the second hermit of whom I have heard in the United

States*. That train of misfortunes, by which men are inclined to thwart the commanding propensity of their nature, and are

* I have lately been informed of a third, who has lived many years between Norfolk in Connecticut, and New-Marlborough in Massachusetts†.

† The person here referred to, whose name was Timothy Leonard, died in New-Marlborough in 1817, aged seventy. He was born near Canterbury, in Connecticut, of parents in low circumstances, and bound out and brought up in Woodbury. After he was of age, he went to the town of Fredericksburgh (N. Y.), where his father then resided. When about twenty-four, he came into this town, a sprightly and industrious young man. He purchased a lot of new land remote from any settlement; went to work, cleared a fine piece of land, and, with the help of his brother, who afterwards came to him, erected a small log-house, in which they lived together harmoniously. After a year and a half he visited his friends, and returned a perfect misanthrope; was displeased and quarrelled with his brother, and drove him away. He gradually became deranged. During the revolution he fancied himself commander-in-chief, and frequently gave orders for the regulation of congress and the army, copies of which are now to be seen. He called himself admiral. He became troublesome and dangerous, and was disarmed by the civil authority. Since that time he has sought no intercourse with the rest of the world; has lived alone in the wilderness, and obtained his subsistence by the cultivation of not more than one acre of land. This he manured with grass, leaves, and other vegetables. His principal living has been corn, potatoes, and pumpkins. For a time he kept some stock; had some pasture; but for a number of years he has lived alone, with the exception of a few domesticated fowls. Woodchucks, rabbits, skunks, weasels, squirrels, rats, and mice, and these *without dressing*, were the varieties of his table. His clothing consisted of two garments, fastened together at the waist by large wooden pins, and was made of wood, hemp, or flax, twisted coarse, and wove in narrow stripes, sewed together, and put on and worn out, probably, without cleansing, and shoes, or mocasins of bark shaped to his feet and worn off. He could read, always kept the year, day of the month, and week. He was not disposed to converse much upon religious subjects. He, however, kept a Testament; paid some regard to the sabbath; was addicted somewhat to profanity, and was a lover of ardent spirits. He expected after death to be about and take some care of his farm. For some years his strength has been failing, but he kept about till the very day before he died. His friends have endeavoured to draw him from his retirement, but in vain. Thousands from the neighbouring towns have visited the hermit, for so he was called. He has often in the summer season been found naked; his head uncovered and uncombed, and his beard unshaven. His neighbours have been disposed to assist him, but he has generally rejected their offers. The night on which he died, though his dress was uncomfortable and filthy, finding him very weak, they wished to have remained with him; but no, to-morrow he should be about again.

driven out of social life into solitude, is here very rarely encountered. Hermits on the eastern continent have long been familiar objects; here they are almost absolutely unknown.

In 1790, Canajoharie, then comprising a large tract of the neighbouring country, contained 6,156 inhabitants. In 1800, the present township contained 2,276; and, in 1810, 4,010.

I am, Sir, &c.

But in the morning early he was found a corpse. His remains were the next day committed, with suitable religious services, and in the presence of a large concourse, to the dust, on the place where he had spent almost half a century in the manner described. He was, perhaps, equally destitute of friends and enemies. He was industrious and honest. He lived for himself entirely, and still was a lesson of instruction to thousands. The picture which he exhibited was, *human nature in ruins.*

This account is taken from the "Connecticut Courant," for 1817.—*Pub.*

LETTER VI.

Story of Mr. Fonda. Sir William Johnson. Prospect from Tripe's Hill. Johnstown. Amsterdam. Character of Honourable John Jay; and of William Pitt Beers, Esq. Cohoes. Waterford. Half-Moon. Stillwater. Saratoga.

DEAR SIR;

WE left Canajoharie on the morning of the 4th, and rode to Schenectady: thirty-four miles.

At the Caghnawaga village, fourteen miles below Canajoharie, was exhibited, some years since, a strong specimen of Indian revenge. A Mr. Fonda, who lived here, was long a distinguished benefactor of the Six Nations; and had fed and lodged great numbers of them with the utmost liberality. One of these people was at his house, heated with drink, and very insolent. Mr. Fonda, having in vain attempted to quiet him, was at length obliged to force him out of the door. Some time afterwards several of the Senecas entered it together. One of them came up to him and said, "At such a time you treated my brother ill. You called him hard names, and dragged him out of your house." At the word he plunged his knife into Mr. Fonda's breast, who fell and expired. This anecdote was mentioned to me by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

The sight of Sir William Johnson's mansion in this vicinity, awakened in my mind a variety of interesting reflections. This gentleman was born in Ireland, about the year 1714. Sir Peter Warren, having married an American lady, purchased a large estate on and near the Mohawk. In the year 1734, he sent for Mr. Johnson, who was his nephew, to come and superintend the property. To fulfil the duties of the commission, Mr. Johnson seated himself in this spot. Here

he became of course extensively acquainted with the Six Nations. He studied their character; acquired their language; carried on an extensive trade with them; and by a course of sagacious measures made himself so agreeable and useful to them, that for many years he possessed an influence over them, such as was never gained by any other white man. His constitution was unusually firm; and his mind hardy, coarse, and vigorous. Unsusceptible of those delicate feelings, by which minds of a softer mould are in a great measure governed; destitute of those refined attachments, which are derived from a correspondence with elegant society; and unconfined by those moral restraints, which bridle men of tender consciences, he here saw the path open to wealth and distinction, and determined to make the utmost of his opportunity. In troublesome times an active, ambitious man hardly ever fails to acquire some degree of consequence. Such were the times, in which Mr. Johnson resided at this place; and so persevering and successful was he in turning them to his advantage, that he rose from the station of a private soldier to the command of an army, and from the class of yeomen to the title of a baronet. In the year 1755 he led the provincial army to Lake George; where was achieved the first victory, gained on the British side, in the war commencing at that period. For this victory, towards which he did little more than barely hold the place of commander-in-chief, he received from the House of Commons £5,000 sterling; and from the king the title of baronet, and the office of superintendent of Indian affairs. In the year 1759, being at the head of the provincial troops, employed under Brigadier-General Prideaux to besiege Fort Niagara, he became, upon the death of that officer, commander-in-chief of the whole army, and directed the siege with activity and skill. On the 24th of July, a body of French and Indian assailants approached to raise the siege. Sir William marched out to meet them, and gained a complete victory. The next morning the fort itself surrendered; and the garrison were made prisoners of war. In 1760, he led 1,000 Iroquois to join the army of General Amherst at Oswego. With this body he proceeded under the command of that illustrious man to Montreal. Here he concluded his military career with honour, being present and

active in a distinguished station at the surrender of Canada. This event took place in 1760. He died July 11, 1774, at his own seat, aged 60 years. The services, which he rendered to the British colonists, were important, and will be long as well as deservedly remembered.

The property, which he amassed here, was very great. At the time when he came into America, a considerable part of the cultivated and much of the uncultivated land in the province of New-York was divided into large manorial possessions, obtained successively from the government by men of superior sagacity and influence. Sir William followed the custom of the country, and by a succession of ingenious and industrious exertions, secured to himself vast tracts of valuable land. As these were always exposed to French and Indian incursions, they were obtained for trifling sums; being considered by most men as of very little value. In consequence of the peace of Paris, and the subsequent increase of the settlements in the province, they rose, as he had foreseen, to such a price as to constitute an immense fortune.

The following specimen of his ingenuity is familiarly related. A sachem, being on a visit at his house, told him one morning a dream which he had had the preceding night. This was no other than that Sir William had given him a rich suit of military clothes. Sir William, knowing that it was an Indian custom to give to a friend whatever present he claimed in this manner, gave him the clothes. Some time after the sachem was at his house again. Sir William observed to him, that he also had had a dream. The sachem asked him what? He answered, he dreamed that the sachem had given him a tract of land. The sachem replied, "You have the land, but we no dream again."

By Lady Johnson he had three children: two daughters, one married to Colonel Closs, the other to Colonel Guy Johnson; and a son, afterwards Sir John Johnson. Of the first of these gentlemen I have no further information. The two last took the British side of the question in the revolutionary war. Sir John led a party of whites and savages during this contest to Johnstown, about four miles from the Caghnawaga village; and there destroyed a considerable number of the inhabitants, who had long been his friends and neighbours, and who had

believed him to be their friend. After their property was either plundered or destroyed, those who were taken were partly carried into captivity, and partly butchered and scalped. The man, who can act in this manner, in any place, and towards any people; particularly in the place where he was born; and towards the people among whom he grew up; that people, too, entirely harmless and unoffending, merits, almost singularly, the detestation of mankind.

Sir William built a house at the village of Johnstown, where he chiefly lived during the latter part of his life. There, also, he was buried. The house which he built on this road was occupied by Sir John. Colonel Guy Johnson built a house on the opposite side of the road, a little farther down the river. Here these men lived, essentially in the rank, and with not a small part of the splendour of noblemen. But, when they joined the British standard, their property vanished in a moment; and with it their consequence, their enjoyments, and probably their hopes.

From Tripe's hill, about one and a half or two miles from Putnam's, we had a delightful prospect over against the entrance of the Schoharie into the Mohawk. This river, the largest tributary of the Mohawk, rises in the southern part of the Katskill mountains, and runs directly north, a course of seventy or eighty miles. From the steepness of the mountains and hills, between which it winds its course, it is liable to sudden and great freshets; and has then so furious a current, that bridges built over it have rarely stood for any length of time. The Mohawk at this place bends with a beautiful sweep towards the south, as if to receive the waters of the Schoharie, and opens a much wider expansion than in most other parts of its progress. The intervals on its border are large, elegant in their form, and in consequence of the late copious rains were covered at this time with a verdure uncommonly brilliant. Beyond the Mohawk, a handsome bridge crosses the Schoharie. Intervals of the same beauty line this river also, receding continually from the eye until they gradually wind out of sight. The hills on both sides are beautiful slopes, and are variegated with finely-appearing farms, spread towards the south through a great extent. To finish the landscape, mountains, far distant, jutting with their ends

upon the valley of the Schoharie, as a collection of vast promontories into the ocean, ascend in four or five successive ranges, increasing in height as they recede, until the last and loftiest bounds the horizon. Such a groupe of objects we saw nowhere else on the Mohawk.

Johnstown is the shire town of Montgomery county. The town is said to be considerable and handsome, and to contain two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, a court-house and a gaol. In 1800, the number of inhabitants in this township was 3,932; and, in 1810, 6,225.

Between Johnstown and Schenectady lies the township of Amsterdam. Of this we saw nothing but the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, which forms the whole of its southern border. In the year 1800, it contained 1,064 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,039.

We reached Schenectady in the evening, where I lodged with the Rev. Dr. Edwards, president of Union college. The next day I proceeded with Mr. Kirkland to Albany; our companions having resolved on an excursion to Ballston. At Albany I remained until Wednesday morning. On Monday we visited his Excellency Governor Jay. This gentleman is well known, both in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. In all the countries which he has visited he has been held in the highest estimation, and in Britain a most honourable character was publicly given of him by Lord Grenville in the house of peers; a character accurately just and richly merited. The services which he has rendered to his country are pre-eminent; and he has rendered such services in every public station which he has filled. As chief justice of the United States, Mr. Jay acquired everywhere the highest reputation. As governor of the state of New-York he amply merited the same character, and gained it from every wise and good man acquainted with his administration. His private life, even in the view of his enemies, has not been soiled with a single spot.

With a forecast, possessed by few other men, Mr. Jay, not long after the date of this journey, declined being a candidate for any public office, and retired to an estate which he has in his native county of Westchester. Here he employs his time, partly in the cultivation of his lands, and partly in a sequestered and profound attention to those immense objects

which ought ever supremely to engage the thoughts, wishes, and labours, of an immortal being.

William Pitt Beers, Esq., the friend at whose house I lodged while in Albany, and who furnished not a little part of the enjoyments which I found in this city, died September 13, 1810. As a friend he merits my affectionate remembrance, and as an able, worthy, and useful man, that of the community. He was born in Stratford, in the state of Connecticut, of a reputable family, and was educated at Yale college, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1785. He then studied law with Judge Reeve; and, after his studies were finished, settled in this city. Here he was held in high respect by persons of the first reputation; but, though commanding more thoughts than most men of talents, and language in a superior degree, was prevented from acquiring that distinction as an advocate, which was expected from his attainments. A delicacy of feeling, which was excessive, and a diffidence, which was strangely united with invincible firmness and full confidence in his powers, made him reluctant to undertake, and embarrassed while executing, this part of his professional business. Few men better understood the political interests of this country, and few political productions have been more generally applauded than those which have occasionally flowed from his pen. As a patriot he was ardent and noble minded, and in the various departments of private life he shone with distinguished lustre.

Wednesday, October 9th, we rode to Stillwater: twenty-eight miles. On our way we stopped to see the Cohoes, the celebrated cataract of the Mohawk, about one and a half mile from its confluence with the Hudson. The river is here about three hundred yards wide, and descends over the brow of a vast stratum of slate, spreading through this region to a great but undefined extent. The brow of this stratum crosses the river in a direction somewhat oblique. Its face also is oblique in a small degree, and at the same time more regular than any distinguished object of this kind within my knowledge. Of course it wants those wild and masculine features, which give so magnificent an appearance to several other cataracts in this country. The eye is disappointed of the grandeur which it instinctively demands, and sees a tame and unanimated aspect,

which ill supplies the place of that violence and splendour imparted by rough and ragged precipices to descending water. Yet the height of the fall, which is not less than sixty feet, the breadth of the river, and the quantity of the water, when it is full, give this cataract no small degree of majesty.

The river was now low, and presented a collection of handsome cascades rather than a magnificent cataract. I had before seen it when the water was high.

The slate through which the Mohawk has worn its bed in this place is exactly the same with that mentioned in the description of Canajoharie creek; of the same dark colour, divided into thin laminæ, equally friable, and equally dissoluble by water and weather. Its banks, below the Cohoes, are not less than one hundred feet in height, black and precipitous. The fall has been evidently worn backward, during the lapse of ages, almost a mile, by the united agency of the stream and the atmosphere.

We crossed the Mohawk three-fourths of a mile below the Cohoes, on a bridge projected and built by General Schuyler; a plain structure, but of great length and much utility, as it serves to connect the country, north of this river, with the city of Albany.

Two miles north of the bridge lies the village of Waterford, in the township of Halfmoon, containing about sixty* houses, generally small, and slightly built. The settlement was begun with sanguine expectations, that it would speedily become a place of considerable trade. These expectations, however, soon vanished; the water of the Hudson being found of insufficient depth to furnish a navigation for vessels of the proper size for the business projected. But the hopes of the inhabitants are now reviving. During the past summer an attempt has been made to deepen the bed of that river between Albany and Troy, and the experiment has been successful. By a new and ingenious contrivance the rocks have been blown under water, without very great expense, and with so much ease and expedition, as to promise a speedy removal of the obstructions. Should this business be pursued with perseverance, most of the vessels which can reach Albany will be able to come up to Waterford. In that case large quantities of wheat and other

* Year 1799.

produce, which are now carried by land to Albany, would be shipped here, and would ensure a considerable and profitable trade to the inhabitants. There is a small, decent church in this village, but without a minister. The inhabitants are chiefly colonists from New-England, who have planted themselves here since the revolution.

Halfmoon is an extensive township. The soil is generally what is called slate land, being either clay, or clay with a thin covering of sand. Sometimes, however, the surface is composed of loam. The inhabitants are generally farmers, and amounted, in 1790, to 3,602; in 1800, to 3,851; and, in 1810, to 5,292.

The first six miles of the road from Albany passed over a handsome interval. Through the remainder of the distance to Stillwater, we found neither the road nor the country very agreeable. The slate land extends with little intermission throughout the whole distance. The surface is almost entirely clay, and the season having been wet, the road was encumbered with mud.

Just as we arrived at Stillwater it began to rain, and rained copiously till Friday morning, when we rode to Saratoga to dinner; eight miles. The lowering appearance of the sky prevented us from setting out until the morning was far advanced. We here found the country very beautiful. The road passes along the borders of intervals, lining the Hudson for a great length. The river also is in full view, and few rides are more cheerful. To add to our enjoyments, and the sprightliness of the scenery, a great multitude of robins and other small birds regaled us with a variety of songs—a fact not very common at this season of the year.

There is a small, pleasant village in Stillwater. Here I had an opportunity of seeing in one of the mills, erected on the borders of the Hudson, what is called a "gang of saws;" that is, a sufficient number to convert a log into boards by a single operation. The inhabitants along the road in this township exhibit many proofs of comfort and thrift, in both their farms and houses. The whole number contained in the township was, in 1790, 3,071; in 1800, 2,872; and, in 1810, 2,492. The reason of this diminution is undoubtedly the sub-division of the original township into others.

A canal has been begun, intended to connect the waters of the Hudson above and below, along a series of rocky shelves. With this others were to be connected, so as to unite the Hudson with the south end of Lake Champlain. Had the design been practicable, it would have been incalculably advantageous to the commerce of the Hudson. But many years will probably elapse before it will be executed.

Saratoga resembles Stillwater, but along the river is more beautiful. The intervals are larger, richer, and handsomer. The river also winds more, and is more replenished with islands.

In 1790, the township of Saratoga contained 3,071 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,411; and, in 1810, 3,183. This township also has been divided.

"To abstract the mind from all local emotions," says Johnson, "would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer on the ruins of Jona."

Dr. Johnson, under the influence of his strong prejudice against every thing American, would most probably refuse the application of these fine sentiments to a native of this country. Particularly he might be expected to thunder his anathemas, or at least issue an interdict, from his literary Vatican, against the indulgence of such emotions in any case connected with the American revolution. But I, who was never under his immediate superintendence, felt them instinctively rising in my own mind at the sight of the field in which General Burgoyne surrendered himself, and the army under his command, to General Gates. I could here almost forget that Arnold became a traitor to his country, and satisfy myself with recollecting, that to his invincible gallantry, and that of the brave officers and soldiers whom he led, my country was, under God, indebted in a prime degree for her independence, and

all its consequent blessings. Johnson himself could hardly forbid an American to love his country; and I should think that American, peculiarly an inhabitant of New-England or New-York, little to be envied, whose patriotism did not gain force upon the heights of Stillwater, or the plains of Saratoga. These scenes I have examined, the former with solemnity and awe, the latter with ardour and admiration, and both with enthusiasm and rapture. Here I have remembered, here it is impossible not to remember, that on this very spot a controversy was decided, upon which hung the liberty and happiness of a nation, destined one day to fill a continent, and of its descendants, who will probably hereafter outnumber the inhabitants of Europe.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Progress of General Burgoyne. Desertion of Ticonderoga. Battle of Hubbardton; of Battle-hill. Wise Measures of General Schuyler. Defeat of Colonel Baume and Breckman. Battles of September 19th and October 7th. Surrender of General Burgoyne. Reflections.

DEAR SIR;

THE British nation formed the highest hopes from the expedition of General Burgoyne; hopes, naturally founded on the skill of the commander, the bravery of his army, and the point of attack. Nor did these considerations fail of awakening in the minds of the Americans very serious solicitude. Sir Guy Carlton had the preceding year conducted the British affairs in Canada with distinguished wisdom and success; but for some reason, of which I am ignorant, the management of them was, in 1777, transferred unwisely from him to General Burgoyne. This officer arrived at Quebec in the month of May, and moved up Lake Champlain in June, with an army consisting of British, German, and other troops, and amounting to between nine and ten thousand men. On the 20th he landed at Crown Point, and there, to conciliate the good will of the Indians who had joined his army, made a feast for them. To his peculiar honour it ought to be remembered, that he solemnly forbade their customary cruelties, and encouraged them to humanity by promising a compensation for prisoners, and declaring, "that not only such compensation should be withheld, but a strict account demanded if they should bring in scalps." To old men, women, children, and prisoners, and to persons quietly busied in the employments of peace, he also required them in the most pointed terms to exhibit an uniformly humane treatment.

From Crown Point he proceeded to Ticonderoga. Here the French formerly built a regular and expensive fortress, with the proper outworks, sufficiently strong to endure a siege of some length. The ground was however so ill chosen as to be untenable for a single day; for it is perfectly commanded, both by Mount Independence on the east, and Sugar Hill, now named Mount Defiance, on the south. Ticonderoga stands upon a small peninsula, washed by the outlet of Lake George on the south, Lake Champlain on the east, and a cove from that lake on the north. The Americans, not being sufficiently numerous to defend all the posts in this vicinity, unwisely, as I think, left Mount Defiance unoccupied.

As a prelude to his operations, General Burgoyne issued a pompous, haughty-minded proclamation, in which, after reciting a number of his own titles, eked out with a string of *et ceteras* to indicate the rest, making a magnificent parade of the number and strength of his army, and displaying in formidable view the body of savages by which it was attended, he announced the great things which he was able to accomplish, and commanded the Americans to lay down their arms, and return to their duty; promising them mercy upon their speedy submission, and threatening them with the most terrible vengeance if they persisted in their rebellion. The effects of this proclamation entirely contravened the expectations of the writer. Instead of the terror which it was intended to excite, it produced only indignation and contempt. Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey, by turning it ingeniously into Hudibrastic verse, made it an object of general diversion. John Holt, of New-York, an old and respectable printer, published it in his newspaper at Poughkeepsie; and subjoined, "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." It is remarkable, that the four most haughty proclamations, issued by military commanders in modern times, have prefaced their ruin: this of General Burgoyne; that of the Duke of Brunswick, when he was entering France; that of Buonaparte, in Egypt; and that of General Le Clerc, at his arrival in St. Domingo.

The troops with which General St. Clair garrisoned these posts, ill equipped and ill armed, amounted, including nine hundred militia, to three thousand effective men. As General

Philips, with the right wing of the British, approached Ticonderoga, the Americans abandoned their outworks; and the British, without any obstruction, proceeded to take possession of Mount Defiance. In this situation General St. Clair, knowing it to be impossible to retain Ticonderoga, or Mount Independence, summoned a council of war to deliberate on the measures to be pursued. Here it was unanimously determined to evacuate Ticonderoga with the utmost expedition. The army accordingly withdrew the succeeding night across the lake, and marched directly towards Castleton, in Vermont. The invalids and stores were put on board batteaux, under the conduct of Colonel Long, and proceeded up the lake to Skenesborough.

No event during the revolutionary war produced such consternation throughout this country as the evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was not the loss of the fort, nor of the stores, nor of the men, which created the alarm. It was the disappointment of expectations long cherished, highly raised, and fostered into a secure sense of safety by all the accounts which had been privately and publicly given to the community. In these accounts Ticonderoga was continually exhibited as free almost from imaginable danger, and the army as amply sufficient and abundantly furnished for its defence. "Why," they naturally asked, "were these works given up without a single blow, without even a show of resistance? Were the works incapable of defence? Was the army insufficient to defend them? Were they insufficiently supplied with ammunition, or provisions, or other necessaries? If this was really the disastrous state of things, why were we deceived with regard to them all; and flattered into a belief that the army, the works, and the country were safe?"

Nothing could have been more unexpected than this event. It was the bursting of a meteor, which by its awful peal shook every habitation from Maine to Georgia. That there was a fault somewhere cannot be questioned. The country was unwisely lulled into security. The subordinate officers and the soldiers were themselves the principal cause of this misfortune. They probably over-rated their own strength; and, together with their superiors, under-rated that of the enemy. Those who visited the army, also, were willingly persuaded that all

was well; and when they returned home, spread their own opinions and feelings through their countrymen. It may even be questioned, whether those who were at the head of our affairs were not reluctant to have the real state of the army known. Whatever was the cause, the excessive disappointment of the community was most unhappy, and mightily increased the astonishment and dismay.

The enemy did not suffer the alarm to diminish. General Fraser, at the head of eight hundred and fifty men, overtook Colonel Warner, who commanded the rear guard, consisting of twelve hundred men, at five o'clock the following morning. A vigorous action ensued, in which a part of the American force, under Colonel Hale, fled instantly. The remainder, under Colonels Warner and Francis, although labouring under every disadvantage, fought with great spirit, but were finally put to flight. Francis fell with glory. General St. Clair, who had reached Castleton during the night, made an attempt to reinforce Warner during the action, but found it impossible.

While Fraser followed the Americans by land, General Burgoyne, with the utmost rapidity, pursued them up the lake to Skenesborough; and, coming up with their rear, forced them to fly. Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, was dispatched after them. Reinforced by a small body which General Schuyler had sent from Fort Edward to his assistance, Colonel Long attacked Hill at a spot, called from this action Battle Hill. The contest was maintained with great vigour, as the British acknowledged, for two hours; when a body of Indians, mistaken for a more formidable reinforcement, coming up, the Americans withdrew. But for this accident, the British would have been probably cut in pieces.

At Hubbardton the Americans suffered severely, although from the contradictory accounts it is impossible to say how much. At Skenesborough they lost a great part of their stores. Of both these disasters General Schuyler, then at Stillwater, received the intelligence on the same day, and set himself, with the utmost good sense and resolution, to provide means for the prevention of future calamities. General Burgoyne stopped at Skenesborough to collect and arrange his army, and to wait for his baggage, artillery, and stores. This

interval Schuyler employed in embarrassing the road, destroying the navigation of Wood-Creek, driving the cattle out of the country, and conveying the military stores, deposited at Fort George, at the head of the lake of that name, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson. At the same time he called for reinforcements of regular troops; and summoned, with great earnestness, the militia of New-England and New-York to his assistance. * For these efforts, indispensable to the success of the campaign and the safety of the country, General Schuyler merited the highest gratitude, and the warmest approbation of his fellow-citizens.

In answer to these calls, troops were sent him from the main army. The militia of both countries were put in motion, and supplies were contributed in every direction. General Arnold and Colonel Morgan, at the head of a corps of riflemen, and General Lincoln, at the head of the New-England militia, were immediately ordered to his assistance.

General Burgoyne occupied himself, in the mean time, in opening the navigation of Wood-Creek, and removing the numerous obstructions from the road to Fort Edward. These works, to a body of men perfectly unaccustomed to such employments, were extremely difficult and laborious, and furnished the Americans with an opportunity of repairing their losses, which to them was invaluable. As Burgoyne approached Fort Edward, Schuyler fell back to Saratoga, and from Saratoga to Stillwater.

One of the principal difficulties, under which General Burgoyne laboured, was the want of a sufficient stock of provisions; and another, scarcely less distressing, the want of horses and oxen for the draught. To obtain both these objects he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, with a considerable body of troops, to Bennington, where a collection of stores was deposited for the use of the American army; and, to support him in any case, Lieutenant-Colonel Brechman was detached after him to Baton Kill, at some distance from its confluence with the Hudson. When Baum had reached the eastern part of Hoosac, he halted on the borders of a mill-stream, called the Walloomscock (a tributary of Hoosac river), in consequence of information, that a strong body of the New-England militia were in the neighbourhood.

Among the levies forwarded to the American army, eight hundred of the New-Hampshire militia marched under the command of Brigadier-General Stark. This gentleman had fought bravely at Breed's Hill; but for reasons which do not appear, and which cannot have been sufficient, had been neglected in the progress of promotion. When requested by the New-Hampshire legislature to take the command of their new levies, he consented, on the condition that he should be permitted to unite his troops to the main army, or not, as he pleased. Happily he reached Bennington at this critical moment, and immediately dispatched a messenger to Colonel Warner, then at Manchester, to reinforce him with his regiment. At the same time he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Greg, with two hundred of his men, to attack the enemy, supposing them only to be a body of savages. Greg, as soon as he perceived the real strength of his adversaries, retired, and met General Stark advancing to his assistance. Warner obeyed the first summons, and with his own regiment, and a considerable number of militia from the neighbouring country, marched immediately to the assistance of Stark.

Stark, upon his arrival, instantly offered the enemy battle. Baum declined it. Stark, then leaving a small force to watch his motins, encamped his main body at a little distance. The next day it rained. The following morning, July 16th, Stark made his dispositions for an attack. Colonel Nichols, with two hundred and fifty men, he sent towards the rear of their left, Colonel Hendrick, with three hundred, to the rear of their right, three hundred more he stationed in their front, two hundred more he sent to attack their right, probably also to reinforce Hendrick; and another hundred to reinforce Nichols. The rest he retained under his own immediate command. The attack commenced on the enemy's left at three o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately became general. The action continued two hours. The British works were forced, their field-pieces taken, and such of their men as did not escape by flight were killed or made prisoners.

Scarcely was this action ended when General Stark was informed, that another body of English troops was advancing toward him, at the distance of two miles. His own soldiers, with the true spirit of militia, were dispersed in quest of plun-

der. They were rallied as soon as possible; and Warner, fortunately arriving at the moment in a road, which conducted him directly to the right of the enemy, began the attack, and gave the scattered soldiers opportunity to form in order of battle. Brechman made the best dispositions in his power, and maintained his ground with great spirit and conduct, but was forced to yield to superior numbers and equal bravery. With a part of his force he made good his retreat.

In the battle of Hoosac, erroneously called the battle of Bennington, the British lost 226 killed outright, and 36 officers, and more than 700 privates made prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Baum, who soon after died of his wounds. The Americans took four brass field-pieces, and a considerable quantity of baggage, arms, and ammunition. Their own loss amounted to about 100 killed and wounded. The superior skill of the Americans in directing the musquet was conspicuous in these engagements.

The effects of this battle upon the public mind cannot be described. It was a victory of mere militia over the best disciplined veterans, and an unquestionable proof, that other victories might be achieved by such men over such enemies. It was the frustration of an important enterprise, the accomplishment of which was indispensable to the success, and even to the comfort of the invading army. It was a victory, following hard upon disaster, shame, and dismay; a morning, breaking out after a gloomy and melancholy night, and promising a brilliant and glorious day. It was seen, therefore, with wonder and delight, such as we may suppose the Egyptians felt when they beheld the sun return after the darkness which had so long brooded over their country*.

* Among the prisoners taken by the Americans at the battle of Hoosac was an inhabitant of Hancock, in the county of Berkshire, a plain farmer, named Richard Jackson. This man had conscientiously taken the British side in the revolutionary contest, and felt himself bound to seize the earliest opportunity of employing himself in the service of his sovereign. Hearing that Colonel Baum was advancing with a body of troops towards Bennington, he rose early, saddled his horse, and rode to Hoosac, intending to attach himself to this corps. Here he was taken, in such circumstances as proved his intention beyond every reasonable doubt. He was besides too honest to deny it. Accordingly he was transmitted to Great-Barrington, then the shire-town of Berkshire, and placed in the hands of General

Speedily after the battle of Hoosac, General Gates took the command of the northern army, and within a short time

Fellows, high-sheriff of the county, who immediately confined him in the county gaol. This building was at that time so infirm, that without a guard no prisoner could be kept in it who wished to make his escape. To escape, however, was in no degree consonant with Richard's idea of right, and he thought no more seriously of making an attempt of this nature, than he would have done had he been in his own house. After he had lain quietly in gaol a few days, he told the sheriff, that he was losing his time and earning nothing, and wished that he would permit him to go out and work in the day-time, promising to return regularly at evening to his quarters in the prison. The sheriff had become acquainted with his character, and readily acceded to his proposal. Accordingly, Richard went out regularly during the remaining part of the autumn, and the following winter and spring, until the beginning of May, and every night returned at the proper hour to the gaol. In this manner he performed a day's work every day, with scarcely any exception beside the sabbath, through the whole period.

In the month of May he was to be tried for high treason. The sheriff accordingly made preparations to conduct him to Springfield, where his trial was to be held. But he told the sheriff that it was not worth his while to take this trouble, for he could just as well go alone, and it would save both the expense and inconvenience of the sheriff's journey. The sheriff, after a little reflection, assented to his proposal, and Richard commenced his journey—the only one, it is believed, which was ever undertaken in the same manner for the same object. In the woods of Tyringham he was overtaken by the Honourable T. Edwards, from whom I had this story. "Whither are you going?" said Mr. Edwards. "To Springfield, Sir," answered Richard, "to be tried for my life." Accordingly he proceeded directly to Springfield, surrendered himself to the sheriff of Hampshire, was tried, found guilty, and condemned to die.

The council of Massachusetts was, at this time, the supreme executive of the state. Application was made to this board for a pardon. The facts were stated, the evidence by which they were supported, and the sentence grounded on them. The question was then put by the president, "Shall a pardon be granted to Richard Jackson?" The gentleman who first spoke observed, that the case was perfectly clear; the act alleged against Jackson was unquestionably high treason, and the proof was complete. If a pardon should be granted in this case, he saw no reason why it should not be granted in every other. In the same manner answered those who followed him. When it came to the turn of Mr. Edwards, he told this story, with those little circumstances of particularity, which, though they are easily lost from the memory, and have escaped mine, give light and shade a living reality, and a picturesque impressiveness to every tale which is fitted to enforce conviction, or to touch the heart. At the same time he recited it without enhancement, without expatiating, without any attempt to be pathetic. As is always the case, this simplicity gave the narration its full

received a considerable body of regular troops and a great number of militia from New-York and New-England. He found the army encamped on the eastern side of the Hudson, opposite to the township of Halfmoon. With these reinforcements he moved to Stillwater, and encamped on Bemis's Heights, a succession of elevated ground, terminating eastward within one-fourth of a mile from the Hudson. From the 8th of July to the 17th of September, General Burgoyne had been employed in marching from Skenesborough to Saratoga. During the last forty-nine days of this period he moved only nineteen miles, although there was not a single soldier to oppose his progress. This delay was probably the salvation of the United States.

On the 13th and 14th of September he crossed the Hudson at Dumont's Ferry, into Saratoga; and, on the 19th, advanced to attack General Gates. The action was begun by Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, in an attack upon the British vanguard on their right. Both parties were reinforced until the combatants became very numerous. The conflict was obstinately continued through the day. Both fought with great resolution, and both claimed the victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks informed me, that he did not leave the ground with his own regiment until between eleven and twelve o'clock in the evening, and that several American officers afterwards walked over the field and found no enemy.

In this engagement the American militia as well as regulars, fought with the greatest gallantry. A Connecticut regiment of militia, under the command of Colonel Cook, after being obliged to retreat three times, were rallied without difficulty the fourth time, and drove the enemy from the ground. The British lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 600. The Americans, 319. It was observed by the German officers, that the continuance and heat of the fire exceeded every thing which they had before known.

General Lincoln, who had remained at Manchester to

force. The council began to hesitate. One of the members at length observed, "Certainly such a man as this ought not to be sent to the gallows." To his opinion the members unanimously assented. A pardon was immediately made out and transmitted to Springfield, and Richard returned to his family. Never was a stronger proof exhibited that honesty is wisdom.

assemble recruits, and forward them to the army, dispatched Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, to surprise the British posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. This officer, without any difficulty made himself master of the British outworks, took several gun-boats, an armed sloop, 200 batteaux, near 300 prisoners, arms, ammunition, &c., and retook an American standard and 100 prisoners. Then finding himself unable to retake the forts, he returned with his booty to General Lincoln. This successful effort was made on the 14th of September, soon after Lincoln had joined the main army.

The British commander had all along expected important assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, it having been an original part of the plan of the campaign, that a strong force should be sent by this officer up the Hudson, to meet the northern army at Albany. By this measure it was intended to place the Americans between two fires, and had it been taken in sufficient season, the consequences might have been fatal to the colonies. An expedition was in fact undertaken of this nature. The British commander sailed up the Hudson, October 6th, in a fleet commanded by Commodore Hotham, and took Forts Clinton and Montgomery. He then dispatched General Vaughan and Sir James Wallace through the Highlands to Esopus, a considerable Dutch village in the county of Ulster. General Vaughan plundered the inhabitants and burnt the village. This expedition, however, produced no other effect than to add to the list of private sufferings, and increase the hatred instinctively excited against their authors.

Having waited in vain for intelligence of the co-operation expected, and knowing his provisions to be very short, General Burgoyne resolved, if possible, to force a passage to Albany. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, a detachment of fifteen hundred men, led by himself, seconded by Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Fraser, moved early in the morning to the left of the Americans. Colonel Morgan, at the head of his riflemen, and a body of light infantry, had already occupied the van of the American army. At the approach of the British he attacked their out-parties and drove them in. Arnold, upon the first intelligence of this movement, repaired to General Gates, and after stating it to him, observed, that this body

must be driven back. The American commander believed it to be a feint, intended to cover a real design of attacking him on the right, and was therefore unwilling to weaken his force in that quarter. The ardour and peremptoriness of Arnold however prevailed. General Gates ordered the troops which he had requested, but said, "General Arnold, this is no measure of mine. I will not be answerable for the consequences." "I will," said Arnold, and galloped his horse to the scene of action.

The British had occupied an elevated ridge, in the possession of which they would have been able to force the Americans from the ground which they had occupied on the left. Scarcely had they advanced within less than half a mile of the American detachment, when they were furiously attacked, but they sustained the shock with great resolution. General Gates having become satisfied of the real design of the British commander, sent Arnold ample reinforcements. Both armies were soon extensively engaged. After a violent contest Arnold forced the British to give way, and following them with vigour, obliged General Burgoyne to leave his field pieces, and a great part of the corps which managed them, and retreat to his camp. The Americans pressing closely upon them attacked their works, and Arnold actually entered them with a few of his men. Seeing a body of troops dressed like Americans, inactive, he demanded with a stern voice, whether they were of such a corps. A thundering German voice answered "Naw," and a fire was poured in upon him, and wounded him in the leg.

In the mean time Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, at the head of the 8th Massachusetts regiment, on the left of Arnold's division, turned the right of the British, and carried that part of the works which was defended by the German reserve by storm. The commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Brechman, fell. Brooks kept the ground.

The battle was terminated by the night. The Americans lay upon their arms, and the British commander, unwilling to risk another action in the same circumstances, drew his army into the camp, which he had formed on the heights near the river. This movement saved his troops from destruction.

The victory gained by the Americans was complete, and

their loss inconsiderable. That of the British was great. Among the numerous slain was General Fraser, an officer of distinguished reputation and merit. Among the prisoners were Majors Williams and Ackland, and Sir James Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, mortally wounded.

General Gates, to cut off the retreat of his enemy on the west side of the river, had detached a strong body up the river in the rear of the British, and another to the heights opposite Saratoga, and a third still farther up the river, to prevent him from crossing. When General Burgoyne was informed of these measures, he determined immediately to retire. On the march the British destroyed the unfortunate settlements which lay in their course, apparently without a motive. The army reached the field which we surveyed with so much exultation, lying immediately north of Saratoga creek, and bordering the Hudson. It is a large and beautiful interval, and is rendered not a little more beautiful to the eye by the remembrance, that it was the scene of the most interesting transaction during the American war. On this ground the northern army laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The cloud which had long hung with so lowering an aspect over this part of the horizon dissolved, and the evening became serene and delightful.

The British army, when it surrendered, amounted to 5,752; the sick and wounded left in the camp, to 528; the killed, wounded, taken, and missing, before the 16th of October, to 2,933; in all, 9,213. The American army at its utmost consisted of 9,093 regulars. The militia varied much in their number at different periods. At the time of the convention they amounted to 4,129. The whole number, therefore, was 13,222, of which, however, more than 2,500 were sick. Future travellers will resort to this spot with the same emotions which we experienced, and recal with enthusiasm the glorious events of which it is the perpetual memorial. It is impossible that they should not kindle with patriotism. It is to be hoped, also, that many of them will glow with piety. Even a generous-minded Englishman must, I think, unite in his views and feelings with my own countrymen. How immensely more important to succeeding generations were these transactions than those of the plain of Marathon. That im-

mediately affected the states of Greece only; few in the number of their inhabitants, and comprising but a speck of territory. Here was decided the destiny of a nation, inhabiting a million of square miles, independently of Louisiana, and already amounting to more than seven millions of people. Beside the vastness of these objects, every man of candour will admit, that the religion, the laws, the government, and the manners of these people, are as superior to those of the Greeks, as their numbers and the extent of their territory. Who could be willing that such a body of people, so circumstanced, should be conquered, and, what is the regular consequence, enslaved? Who, especially, could be willing that such an event should take place immediately before an era, at which the lights of human liberty and happiness have so suddenly, and in such numbers, been extinguished?

The majority of the British nation earnestly wished, that the Americans might not be conquered, while they wished also, that their country might not be separated from the national domain. The ablest men in the councils of the kingdom resisted the war, and the measures which led to it, with unanswerable arguments, and with irresistible eloquence. The great Chatham solemnly warned the parliament of the danger which was involved in reducing three millions of their fellow subjects under the dominion of the crown, and placing them at its absolute disposal. The consequences of such an event cannot be divined, but it demands no great degree of forecast to perceive that they might have been dreadful.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Saratoga. Fort Miller. Fort Edward. Cambridge. Argyle. The Baton Kill. Easton. Greenwich. Scotch Settlers. Journey to Williamstown. Petersburgh. Pownal. Excursion to the Summit of Saddle Mountain. Natural Bridge.

DEAR SIR;

THE township of Saratoga has been divided into two, Saratoga and Northumberland, perhaps into more. In 1790, the inhabitants, contained within its limits, were 3,071; in 1800, the present Saratoga contained 2,481; Northumberland 2,007; in 1810, the numbers in Saratoga were 3,183; and, in Northumberland, 2,041. Both townships are of considerable extent.

The journey from Saratoga to Sandy-Hill is very pleasant, except that the road is indifferent in many places; a part of it being heavily encumbered with mud, and another part with sand.

The face of the country is very similar to that which was last described.

Several of the intervals, which we passed on this part of our journey, exhibit strong proofs of the manner in which they were formed. A bare inspection of them evinced beyond debate, that they were at first islands, which rose above the surface at some distance from the bank and were gradually extended towards it. The part which finally united each to the bank was last formed, and continued to be a channel to the stream longer than any other spot on the interval. Accordingly, this part of these grounds was almost without an exception lower than the rest.

Before the year 1783 there were few settlements in this region. The expedition of General Burgoyne obliged the

inhabitants to fly, destroyed their buildings and fences, and plundered them of their cattle and their property. Since that event the number of planters has greatly increased; and they have considerably advanced in prosperity and wealth. Northumberland is, however, still in an infant state, many of the houses being built of logs; the fields imperfectly cleared; the girdled trees remaining; and the enclosures formed of logs and rubbish. These proofs of a recent settlement will soon vanish, and be followed by a superior cultivation.

Three miles above Carpenter's stood Fort Miller; a small, picketed work, built in 1756 or 1757, to check the incursions of the savages. Its remains have almost entirely disappeared; and the spot where it stood is now a corn field. At this place there is a sprightly fall in the Hudson, down which General Putnam is said to have descended in a small boat. Opposite to this spot General Burgoyne spent near two months in his long journey from Skenesborough to Saratoga.

We crossed the Hudson at Dumont's ferry, and through a road in the township of Argyle, extremely miry, made our way to Fort Edward, where we stopped some time to examine this work. It was planned by Captain Ayres, an engineer in the British service; and completed by General Schuyler in the year 1755, principally with a design to check savage incursions, to be a depot of military stores, and to protect the persons employed in transporting them. We found the work almost entire. It is built of earth, in the form of an irregular square, with three small bastions on the north-west, north-east, and south-east angles; and a counterfeit on the south-west. On two sides it was fronted by a ditch; under the third runs the Hudson; the fourth is the bank of a deep-sunk rivulet. From a sudden attack, therefore, it was well secured; but, being in the neighbourhood of several higher grounds, could not have been defended against artillery half an hour. Its original name was Fort Lyman; derived from Major General Lyman, who was mentioned in a former part of these Letters, and who at that time commanded the New-England forces encamped here.

Fort Edward is distant from Albany forty-seven miles, and from New-York two hundred and three. A small, scattered, lean looking village is built in the neighbourhood.

From Fort Edward to Sandy-Hill (three miles), the road, after ascending a long acclivity, passes over the plain, on which that village is built. The evening I spent with Judge H——, a member of the senate of this state. This gentleman gave me much useful information concerning the surrounding country and its inhabitants.

Saturday, October 12, Messrs. C—— and H—— left us, and proceeded to Lake George. Mr. D—— and myself, intending to return to Carpenter's in the evening, stopped at Glen's falls; three miles on the road. It rained all night, and until ten in the morning. We were therefore late, and after spending an hour and a half at the falls returned to Sandy-Hill. The river was high, and all those fine varieties of water, which were so visible in the preceding autumn, were lost in one general accumulation of force and grandeur. The river rolled or fell everywhere in a violent and majestic torrent. A copious mist filled its bed, and descended on us in a shower.

We took a late dinner, and, crossing at Roger's ferry, a little below Sandy-Hill, pursued our journey on the western side of the Hudson. Here we found the road much better, and the scenery much pleasanter.

On Sunday morning, October 13, having been informed, that there would be no public worship in Saratoga, none, I mean, in which we wished to participate, and that there was a respectable Scotch clergyman at Cambridge, we left this place, and, crossing Dumont's ferry again, rode through the township of Argyle and a small part of Greenwich to the place of our destination, where we arrived just after the congregation had begun their morning worship. On our way, a decent Scotsman came up to us on horseback, and very civilly inquired why we travelled on the sabbath; observing to us at the same time, that such travelling was forbidden by the law of the state, and that the people of that vicinity had determined to carry the law into execution. We easily satisfied him, and were not a little pleased to find, that there were people in this vicinity, who regarded the law of the land and the law of God with so much respect. When we entered the church, our companion obligingly conducted us to a good seat. We found in the desk a respectable clergyman from

Scotland, who gave us two edifying sermons, delivered, however, in the peculiar manner of the Seceders.

The country, from Dumont's ferry through the township of Argyle, is, for six or eight miles, a plain of pitch-pines. The soil is alternately clay and sand, everywhere replenished with slate, of a very fragile and dissolute texture. The surface then rises gradually into easy swells, and then into hills. The soil of these is loam mixed with gravel, generally of a moderately good quality. The forests contain oak, chesnut, and hickory; and abound in maple and beach. The rocks are principally granite.

On this road there is a small village in the township of Argyle; and another, in that of Greenwich. The latter is built around a collection of mills on the Baton Kill. This large mill-stream rises in the township of Dorset in Vermont; and, running south-westward through Manchester, turns to the west in the north part of Sunderland. Thence passing through Arlington, it crosses the county of Washington between Cambridge and Salem, Easton and Greenwich, and discharges its waters into the Hudson at the south-west corner of Greenwich. Its course is about forty miles. Here it is called Batten Kill. In this village there is a decent Baptist church; and about thirty houses of an indifferent appearance.

The township of Argyle contained, in 1790, when it included Greenwich and Easton, 2,341 inhabitants; in 1800, after Easton was separated from it, 4,595. In 1810, after Greenwich was separated from it, 3,813. In 1800, Easton contained 3,069; and, in 1810, 3,253. In 1810, Greenwich contained 2,752. The original township contained, in 1800, 7,764; and, in 1810, 9,818.

In 1790, the county of Washington contained nine townships, and 14,042 inhabitants; in 1800, sixteen townships, and 35,574 inhabitants; in 1810, twenty-one townships, and 44,289 inhabitants.

These facts will give you a tolerably just view of the progress of settlement and population in those parts of this state, which until very lately were a mere wilderness.

The township of Cambridge is both fertile and pleasant. On its western side runs the range of Taghkannuc, in a succession of hills, some of them approaching towards a mountainous

height. All the varieties of "hill, dale, and sunny plain," and beautiful interval, are here presented to the eye of a traveller. A considerable part of its extent is in various directions almost a continual village. The inhabitants, some of whom planted themselves here before the revolutionary war, are chiefly emigrants from New-England and Scotland. Those who came from Scotland particularly engaged my attention. They left their native country in the humblest circumstances; and, after encountering all the hardship and expense incident to a long and tedious voyage, had, at their arrival, no other objects of their reliance beside the goodness of the soil and climate, their own hands, and the common blessings of Heaven. Notwithstanding the difficulties, which I have described as attending the formation of a settlement in an American forest, they have already advanced to the full possession of comforts, and in some instances of conveniences. Their houses are warm and tidy, and their farms in a promising condition. In the church they were decently dressed, and apparently devout: out of it they were cheerful, obliging, and kind. To bring themselves into this condition, they have undoubtedly suffered many troubles; yet they have certainly acted with wisdom in transporting themselves into a country where all the necessaries and comforts of life are so abundant, and so easily obtained. The prospects of the poor brighten at once, their views expand, their energy awakes, and their efforts are invigorated, when they see competence rewarding of course every man possessing health, common sense, and integrity, labouring with diligence, and preserving with care the fruits of his industry. At the same time a mighty difference between the possession of a fee simple estate, and a dependant tenantcy, even where the terms are mild, is perfectly understood and deeply felt by every man who has been a tenant. Of all the feelings derived from civilized society, that of personal independence is undoubtedly the most delightful.

We saw three churches in Cambridge; two of them belonging to the Scotch settlers, and all of them decent buildings. In 1790, this township contained 4,996 inhabitants; in 1800, 6,187; and, in 1810, 6,730.

From Cambridge to Hoosac Falls the country is rather pleasant, particularly the first six or eight miles. The rest of

the way it was too dark to allow us an opportunity of examining it. I have since passed through it three times; in 1802, 1806, and 1810, and found it not a little improved.

In our way we crossed the Wallomscock, on which Colonels Baum and Brechman were defeated. Here we lost our way, and did not reach the place of our destination without considerable toil and perplexity.

Monday, October 14th, we left Hoosac, and rode to Williamstown in Massachusetts: sixteen miles. Our journey was in the valley of Hoosac river, and was uncommonly romantic and delightful.

A pretty village is begun at Hoosac Falls, and in ten or twelve years has increased from a single house to forty or fifty. The inhabitants are principally from New-England, and appear to be sober, industrious, and prosperous.

On the west of the river, at no great distance, rose the Taghkannuc range, in eminences of considerable height, and, as we advanced southward, became a succession of mountains. On the eastern side ran a range of hills, at times mountainous also; a spur from the range of the Green mountains, which commences its departure in Pownal or Williamstown. At the bottom of this valley ran the Hoosac river, one of the handsomest streams in the world, over a fine bed of pebbles and gravel. Its waters are remarkably limpid, like those of the Saco; and throughout the whole distance are a fine sprightly current. Its borders are an almost uninterrupted succession of intervals, nearly as wide as those of the Mohawk, extremely rich, and ornamented with the most lively verdure. Through these the Hoosac winds its course, alternated with luxuriant meadows and pastures, green to the water's edge, fringed with willows, or crowned with lofty trees. The hills on either side varied their distance from one half of a mile to two miles, and were, successively, beautiful and majestic.

Six or seven miles from Hoosac we came to an opening between the mountains, formed by a recession of two great divisions of the western range from each other. Here both directed their course to the south-west, and presented a magnificent vista, appearing as if designed to conduct the feet of man into other and distant regions. At the same place, and of the same appearance, a second vista lengthened before us

to the south-east, formed likewise by two fine ranges. A third, of which these appeared to be branches, separated at the parting by a point of the range on the south-west, lay immediately behind us. Through the two last the Hoosac finds its course; and through the first the inhabitants of the eastern country their passage to Troy and Albany. This spot is in Petersburgh, a township of which we saw nothing, except the beautiful region which is here described.

Hoosac, in 1790, contained 3,071 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,141; and, in 1810, 3,117.

Petersburgh was incorporated in 1793. Till that time, I presume, it was a part of Hoosac; and contained, in 1800, 4,412; and, in 1810, 2,039: having been subdivided.

We forded the Hoosac about five miles from Noble's. The water was not more than knee-deep, although two days before it was impassable. Its course is between high mountains, and its current rapid. Hence it rises and falls greatly, within very short periods.

From Petersburgh the road enters Pownal in Vermont. About six or seven miles before we reached Williamstown, the scenery was varied at once. The mountains extended their precipitous declivities, so as to form the banks of the river. Between them stood a mill. Over its dam a sheet of water, of great regularity and beauty, spread across the river. Up these precipices, from the water's edge to their summits, rose a most elegant succession of forest trees, chiefly maple, beech, and evergreens. The deciduous foliage had already been changed by the frost to just such a degree as to present every tincture, from the deepest verdure of the spring through all its successive shades to the willow green; and thence through a straw colour, orange, and crimson, to a reddish brown. Aside from the change of hue, the leaves exhibited their perfect forms and full vigour. The colours were among the richest, and were mingled in a manner defying description, and mocking the imitation of the pencil. The dark verdure of the evergreens, interspersed everywhere, set off the splendour of the whole.

Soon after we had passed this spot, three eminences of white limestone rose on the left, almost from the river's bank. Their fronts towards the north-west are bold bluffs, and

served to change the smiling scenery through which we passed into rudeness and grandeur. The clouds at this time flew low, and frequently capped the mountains on the west. At other times they moved along their sides, poured through several chasms between the neighbouring summits, with a progress resembling the motions of a mountainous billow. The wind tossed them unceasingly into wildly varied forms, and presented us with a continual succession of sublimities.

The same scenery is continued to Williamstown, and is unceasingly alternated with beauty and majesty.

In Pownal there is here a pretty village on the intervals east of the river, and a collection of good farms along the declivities on the west. Several mills and forges give this little cluster of houses the appearance of activity and business.

About three miles before we reached Williamstown, we saw in a hill, ascending from the road, several large rocks of breccia or pudding-stone, hanging in the side of a precipice. They were formed of an endless multitude of rounded stones, from the size of pebbles to the diameter of twelve or fifteen inches, embosomed in a mass of coarse sand, cemented to the hardness of a rock. Some parts of this mass I found, however, comparatively soft and friable, as if lately coagulated, or preparing for dissolution. This is the only specimen of pudding-stone, which I have seen, of which coarse sand is the matrix. So far as I was able to examine, the hill was wholly formed of the same materials. What I thought remarkable was, that the forest, growing upon it, was oak and hickory, while all the neighbouring eminences were shrouded by a thick growth of evergreens.

About a mile before we reached Williamstown, we turned into a field on the eastern side of the road, to visit a medicinal spring in the neighbourhood. This water rises in a basin, more than twenty feet in diameter, and perhaps three deep. It is pure and sweet, but impregnated with carbonic acid gas, detached, I presume, from the lime stone, which abounds in this region, and seen continually to rise with the water in many parts of the basin. The temperature was sensibly higher than that of the atmosphere, which was about 60° of Fahrenheit, but much lower than that of the human body.

About twelve o'clock we arrived at Williamstown.

The next morning, Tuesday, October 15, we set out in company with President Fitch, to visit the north-eastern summit of Saddle Mountain, the highest elevation in Massachusetts. This mountain rises in the townships of Adams and New-Ashford. The ascent commences from Hoosac river; but for a mile and a half is a very gradual, easy acclivity.

In our way we called on Mr. Jones, a respectable magistrate, who lives in the skirt of Adams, immediately opposite to the end of the mountain, on the site of Fort Massachusetts. This fortress was, for many years, the only defensive work in this quarter against the Indians. On the 20th of August, 1746, it was attacked by an army of nine hundred French and Indians, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Colonel Hawks of Deerfield, the commander of the fort, had with him only thirty-three persons, men, women, and children. With this little garrison, very ill supplied with ammunition, he defended himself for twenty-eight hours, until his ammunition failed. He then capitulated upon terms offered by himself: one of them was, that none of the prisoners should be given up to the Indians. In direct violation of this article, the French general divided the prisoners the following day, and delivered the Indians half. One of them they butchered, the rest they treated kindly. Colonel Hawks lost one man, and the French forty-five. This was the only instance in which this work was assaulted in form.

Mr. Jones readily offered to accompany us in our excursion.

When I proposed this ride to the gentlemen at Williamstown, I was astonished to learn, that the only person here, who had been known to ascend this mountain, was Mr. N———, one of the judges of the court of common pleas for the county of Berkshire, and that even he had ascended it to accompany a stranger, the Rev. Mr. Searle, of Stoncham, whose curiosity had led him to undertake this enterprise. Judge N——— informed us, that we must climb nearly the whole acclivity, as he had done. We had set out, therefore, with the fullest expectation of finding the effort extremely difficult and fatiguing.

Mr. Jones removed our fears by informing us, that the ascent might be accomplished with little inconvenience. After having

crossed the river, we rode a mile and a half to the house of a farmer, living at the foot of a mountain in a handsome valley. This active and industrious man, whose name is Wilbur, has here cleared in the midst of a forest, and reduced to a good state of cultivation, a farm, from which, beside other produce, he cuts annually one hundred tons of hay. The same spirit he has discovered in a variety of undertakings; particularly, he has cut a winding cart road from his house to the summit of this high eminence, rendering the ascent as easy and convenient as can be imagined.

Mr. Wilbur willingly accompanied us. Our ascent was a spiral circuit of three miles, and employed us diligently two hours. On our way we passed Mr. Wilbur's orchard, as it is here familiarly called, a handsome cluster of maples, from which in a single year he has made one thousand eight hundred pounds of sugar. Were every man, who enjoys equal advantages, possessed of the same enterprise, the quantity of sugar imported into this country would be materially lessened.

We alighted from our horses within twenty feet of the summit, and found our path better than a great part of the town and county roads throughout the hill countries of New-England. Two-thirds of it were formed as a passage to some valuable land, and the remaining third was finished to enable the proprietor conveniently to carry salt to his cattle, often disposed to wander to the summit. The rocks of this mountain are shining schist, of a beautiful light blue, and laminated with smooth, brilliant surfaces. The forests are maple, beech, cherry, and birch. There are also several large spots and streaks of evergreens, chiefly hemlock and spruce.

In passing through this collection of evergreens I observed, in every instance, an entire change in the appearance of the soil, and was struck with an immediate and very sensible alteration in the temperature, both when we entered and when we left them. In the former of these cases a sudden chill was felt by every one of the company, in the latter the return of an agreeable warmth. The cause of the chill I attribute solely to the evergreens. It was not in the height to which we had ascended, for the phenomena of both kinds were repeated at every elevation, where we found the evergreens. It was not the moisture of the ground, for we found the maple and beech

forests growing in full strength in places more, equally, and less moist, and, in all, accompanied by the same warmth of the atmosphere. The thick shade of the evergreens, particularly of the hemlocks, undoubtedly had its influence; but certainly was not the principal cause; for the shade of the maples was in several instances equally deep. Besides, the entire effect was felt at the moments of our ingress and egress. Whereas, if the shade had been the only cause, the warmth would have been conveyed a small distance, at least, into the clusters of evergreens by the wind, then blowing with considerable strength. The peculiar evaporation of these trees is, I believe, the principal source of this phenomenon. The vapour emitted must rise perpendicularly, and cannot spread, and therefore cannot be perceived in a lateral direction.

The soil of this mountain is here rich, quite to the summit, and at small distances below it is replenished with springs. A few feet from the highest point there is a pond, about four rods in length and two in breadth. The depth of the basin is about two feet. In very dry seasons it is empty; but had now about a foot of perfectly pure water.

That water should be found here is certainly no mystery, although usually alleged as such. Clouds hang upon this summit a considerable part of every week, and while they shed their moisture on it, intercept the beams of the sun, and thus in a great measure prevent evaporation. The heat is always moderate. The cold continues late, and begins early. The surface is covered with leaves, moss, and other spongy materials, fitted to retain moisture. Rains and snows fall much oftener, and much more copiously, than on the subjacent country. With these causes in view, it cannot be wondered at, that water should always be found here sufficient to supply this reservoir.

When we had reached the highest point of the mountain, we were struck with a novel appearance of the forest trees. In their figure they always resembled a dwarf, stunted in his stature, and laterally overgrown. The stems, boughs, and branches, were universally thick, short, and clumsy. As every tree on the higher part of this summit was of this peculiar figure, it must undoubtedly have been owing to the great elevation. It cannot be owing to the soil, which here, as well

as further down, was very rich. On ground, exactly resembling it in appearance, about one hundred feet below the point, Mr. Wilbur sowed, the preceding year, the seed of the grass called foxtail. The growth, which sprang from this seed, was now as high as a man's waist.

Short as the trees were on this summit, they were sufficiently thick and tall to prevent us from gaining the prospect which we had expected. There was no remedy for this disappointment, but to climb to their tops. Their peculiar figure, however, made this an easy task. The view was immense, and of amazing grandeur. On the north-west rose the mountains west of Lake Champlain, extending in a vast range, terminated only by the capacity of the eye. The Green Mountains, almost immediately beneath us on the east, stretched northward and southward through an astonishing extent. Beyond them on the north-east ascended the high conical point of Monadnoc, at the distance of fifty miles. In the south-east, at the same distance, rose the peak of Mount Tom. Taghkannuc lifted its head in the south, at the distance of forty miles. A little northward of the other point of Saddle Mountain, the summits of the Kaatskill Mountains magnificently overtopped every other part of the globe within our horizon. You will easily suppose, that we felt a total superiority to all the humble beings, who were creeping on the footstool beneath us. The village of Williamstown shrunk to the size of a farm; and its houses, church, and colleges, appeared like the habitations of martins and wrens.

On this delightful spot we spent about two hours, and about two more in accomplishing our descent. Near the base we met our companions, who had just arrived from Bennington, and were preparing to ascend the mountain. Upon being informed that it would be impossible for them to compass their object at this late hour, they postponed it till the next day.

Both this mountain, and that immediately north of it, called Williamstown Mountain, exhibit an interesting specimen of the progress of vegetation in the spring. At the bottom and throughout a certain extent of the acclivity, comprising sometimes a third, and sometimes a fourth, of the whole ascent, the forest trees shoot out their leaves about the same time with those in the valley beneath. Above this extent all the trees

retain their bare, wintry aspect. Within a week, another division of the mountain immediately above this becomes green also, while the superior parts still retain their barren, leafless appearance. Through these parts the vegetation ascends in the same successive manner, until the whole surface is covered with verdure. Ordinarily, three weeks, and sometimes four, are required to complete this curious progress.

From Saddle Mountain we proceeded to a curiosity, within the township of Adams, called the Natural Bridge, and situated between two and three miles north-eastward from Hoosac river, on the marginal base of the Green Mountains. Here, a stream sufficiently large, eight months in the year, to turn an overshot mill, has throughout the distance of one hundred rods worn a channel in different places from ten to fifty feet deep, in an extensive stratum of white lime-stone. At the surface this channel varies in breadth from two to ten feet, and at the bottom from six to twenty; being often much wider below than above. This remarkable chasm is, by the united power of the stream and the atmosphere, scooped out in an endless variety of both regular and irregular forms. In the horizontal, and sometimes the perpendicular direction, they are arched; are rarely cylindrical, and frequently on each side resemble a half pear. The prospect in this chasm from the brink, its great depth, the ragged wildness of the precipices on both sides, the dusky gloom with which it is everywhere shrouded, and the hollow murmur of the stream at the bottom, all enhanced by the novelty of the scene, produce in the spectator an irresistible shuddering, like that which is felt in looking down the steep brow of a lofty mountain.

The natural bridge, which lies over this stream, is formed of a huge mass of lime-stone; and is, perhaps, thirty feet in length and fifteen in breadth. It seems to have been formed, or rather detected, in this manner. When the stream had washed away the earth down to the under surface of the rock, it found the cavity filled with other earth, stones, and small rocks, which in the progress of time it forced away, and thus merely left the cavity in its original form. This form it has undoubtedly changed since that time, in the same manner and by the same means, with which it has scooped out the channel above and below.

About twenty feet directly beneath this bridge is another, of nearly the same dimensions, disclosed and fashioned in the same manner. The stream runs from twenty to thirty feet below this. As the second bridge was first discovered by one of our party after sunset, the chasm had become too dark to be examined with success. It was, therefore, impossible for me to obtain an accurate view of it, or of the subjacent objects.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

Journey to Pittsfield. Bursting of a Cloud. Observations on Forest Trees. Difference in the Quantity of Snow falling in Places near to each other. Curious Origin of a Thunder Storm, and of a Tornado. Account of Moving Rocks. White Frosts. Return.

DEAR SIR;

WEDNESDAY, October 16th, Mr. D. and myself left our friends at Williamstown, and rode to Pittsfield. For several miles our journey lay in a different road from that, which I had taken the preceding year. In this part of our route we were presented with two interesting objects. One of them was a semi-amphitheatre, formed to the eye, by this vast pile of mountains, only less magnificent than that which I formerly described*.

The other object was a spot on Saddle Mountain, where, to use the language of the neighbouring inhabitants, a cloud burst upon its western side, very near the southern summit.

This certainly was a very extraordinary phenomenon. The following account of it, an imperfect one however, is the best which I have been able to obtain. In the autumn of 1784, in the latter part of the night, a deluge of water descended from this mountain. A family, which lived in a house at some distance from the foot of the mountain, not far from a brook, were suddenly awaked out of their sleep by the united roaring of the wind and the torrent. In their fright they hastily dressed themselves, and escaped from the house, the ground floor of which was by this time six inches under water, and fled to that of a neighbouring inhabitant. When they returned

* See description of the Notch of the White Mountains.

in the morning, they found their own dwelling so completely swept away, that no part of it was left. The brook, through the channel of which this flood discharged itself, had never before, not even in the highest freshets, approached the house by a considerable distance.

Mr. C——, in his excursion to this mountain, on the day when we left Williamstown, followed the path of this torrent, from its commencement, through the principal part of the tract which it ravaged. He informed me, that the channel worn by these waters, began instantaneously, a little below the summit, and was there and in various other places, as he judged, twenty feet deep; and, where widest, at least twenty feet in breadth. A tract of about ten acres was entirely desolated of its trees, which the flood and the storm had thrown down, and which were lying on the lowest part of the tract in heaps of confusion. The face of this ground was now either bare, or covered with small shrubs, apparently sprung up since the period of this devastation. Every appearance, which met his eye, corresponded with the opinion and language of the people in the vicinity.

In the month of October, 1812, I received the following account of the same extraordinary event from the Rev. Bancroft Fowler, of Windsor, in Vermont. This gentleman explored the spot, soon after we ascended Saddle Mountain. I shall give it chiefly in Mr. Fowler's words.

The descent of water, which was a theme of our conversation, commenced on the western side of the highest summit of Saddle Mountain, at a point about two-thirds or three-fourths of its perpendicular height from the bottom. For two or three rods above the spot, where the ground first began to be broken, the trees and shrubs appear to have been swept away by the violence of this deluge. The broken ground is at first not more than six feet wide; but rapidly becomes wider as we descend, so that within one hundred and fifty feet it is about three rods in breadth, and in the widest place five or six. Towards the lower limit, its breadth gradually diminishes, until it terminates in a gutter, which in some places is five or six feet deep. This continues several rods, and then branches into other channels, which, though smaller and covered with leaves and moss, are discernible quite down to the brook

at the foot of the mountain. The whole length of the broken ground is about one hundred and thirty rods. In some parts of this space the surface appears to have been washed away to the depth of from one and a half to two feet; but generally not more than from twelve to fifteen inches. The side of the mountain which is thus washed is stony, and in some places rocky; but far from being a smooth, continued rock, as has been sometimes reported.

But, although the broken ground is not more than five or six rods in breadth, yet the trees and shrubs are entirely swept away, to the distance of four or five rods further, on each side. Towards the bottom of this ground there are standing a considerable number of stumps and trees, from eight to fifteen inches in diameter, and from ten to twenty feet in height; the tops of which were broken off at the time of this deluge. Against these are lodged other trees, of various sizes, either broken off or torn up by the roots, and carried down by the violence of the torrent.

According to the best information, which could be obtained from the neighbouring inhabitants, this deluge, which they call the bursting of a cloud, took place in October, 1784. The first knowledge which they had of it was, that a Mr. Wright (if I remember the name), who lived in a small house on the bank of the stream, which flows from the foot of the mountain, was suddenly awaked, about the dawn of day, by the noise of the torrent, and perceived that his house was surrounded by water, which immediately rose so high, as to run in at the doors and windows. The family left the house as soon as possible; but not without much difficulty. The house itself was speedily overset by the current, and almost every article of the furniture which it contained washed away. The stream overflowed its banks, which are from four to six feet above its surface, about two miles. At this distance they are about ten and twelve feet in height, and the stream three or four rods wide; yet even here it is said to have risen to their edge. At this distance, also, a mill pond was almost entirely filled with the earth, which was washed from the mountain.

The point, where the deluge began its ravages, Mr. Fowler supposes to have been about 2,000 feet above the level of Williamstown. This number, however, and the others con-

tained in this account, are not to be esteemed exact; but only such as he judged to be nearest the truth.

Few events in the natural world are more extraordinary than that which I have described. A similar phenomenon is mentioned in a subsequent part of these Letters, as having taken place on the Grand Monadnoc. I saw also the relics of another upon a mountain which rises at a small distance south of Manchester. The Honourable Timothy Edwards, who first mentioned to me the ravages, which I have just now recited, told me, also, that Dr. Rittenhouse gave him an account of a similar deluge which had taken place in the interior of Pennsylvania, and which, at the request of the American Philosophical Society, he had personally examined. Mr. Edwards afterwards, in a journey to the northern parts of Vermont, found evident traces of seven other instances of the like kind; six of them, if I mistake not, upon different parts of the Green Mountain range; the seventh, that in the neighbourhood of Manchester. Unfortunately, none of those, which have been known in New-England, have, so far as I am informed, been seen in their progress. Their effects are, therefore, the only sources of our knowledge concerning them, and these go but a little way towards enabling us to conjecture the cause. As they have happened wholly or chiefly in the night, and in solitary regions, we are unfortunately destitute of the advantages for explaining this phenomenon, which might have been derived from general and intelligent inspection.

So far as I have been able to learn, the inhabitants living in the vicinity of these deluges in New-England have adopted the same language with that of the people in Williamstown. To say that a cloud broke, or burst, is sufficiently unphilosophical; but is sufficiently expressive of the principal fact, *viz.* that a deluge of rain descended here in a moment. By what means such a mass of water was accumulated and suspended over this place, I am unable to divine. Chemistry has not yet shown, that oxygen and hydrogen can be sufficiently accumulated, and by combustion be converted into water in such quantities as to form such a deluge in a moment. Nor has any scheme of evaporation taught us how such a mass of water can be collected over a small point, and retained by the atmosphere, so as to burst upon the earth in a deluge of this magni-

tude. Even the torrid zone has not, I believe, been the scene of such instantaneous and violent devastations by rain.

The specimen of this nature, which took place at Manchester, is about thirty-four miles from Saddle Mountain, and nearly on the same meridian. The point where the desolation commences is within a very small distance from the apex. There is no space above where the waters could possibly accumulate. The side of the mountain is almost perpendicular. Yet the waters, at the place where the ravage begins, must have existed in great quantities; for the earth was instantaneously worn to a considerable depth, and over a considerable surface, although less than that on Saddle Mountain. The waters must, therefore, have descended upon this spot in torrents, however inexplicable may be the process of their accumulation or suspension.

The northernmost of the instances, observed by Mr. Edwards, is on the mountain of Mansfield. In the year 1806, I was informed that there had been a second on Saddle Mountain, upon the eastern side of the southern summit. With its history I am unacquainted.

In Nichols's History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, in England, as quoted by the British Critic, vol. xvi, p. 349, there is an account of a very uncommon flood, which on May 12th, 1606, came rushing down the forest hills near Beaumanoir, and deluged the farm yards, and all the meadows, in an extraordinary manner. This, the reviewer observes, was probably produced by the discharge of a cloud, or what is called a water spout; of which, he says, a similar instance occurred within these few years at Broomsgrove in Worcestershire; when a deluge came pouring from the hills, which overflowed the town, and the adjacent vale, to a height truly astonishing.

A water spout, if I mistake not, is always formed on the surface of a piece of water in this manner. A whirlwind, passing over such a surface, produces by its gyrations a vacuum in its centre. Up this vacuum the water ascends by the pressure of the atmosphere. From this mass a great quantity of vapours are detached by the violence of the current, and carried up to the highest region of air occupied by the whirlwind. Here it is sustained by the same violence in unusual quanti-

ties; and whenever it ceases to be sustained in this manner, descends again in a deluge upon the subjacent surface. But there is not, within a great distance from any one of these scenes of pluvial devastation in New-England, any water in sufficient quantity to admit of the existence of a water spout. This, therefore, cannot, I think, at all contribute to explain the phenomenon.

Of all the instances, in which a deluge of this nature has taken place within the present knowledge of mankind, it is observable, that they have existed in the interior; not one of them having been observed near the coast; and that they have all been discharged on elevated ground. In New-England they have descended upon mountains, most of them lofty.

We dined at Lanesborough, and lodged in Pittsfield. Here I was furnished with one of the numerous proofs, which have occurred during the progress of my life, that the north-west winds of this country often descend at once from the superior regions of the atmosphere. The wind, which through the day had blown from the south-west, and was warm, shifted instantly to the north-west about nine o'clock in the evening, and in a moment became severely cold. A violent rain fell, accompanied by lightning and thunder. Snow fell on Saddle Mountain, on the Green Mountains, and on Taghkannuc; and the next morning we saw icicles, about ten inches in length, suspended from the eaves of the houses in Lenox. It was impossible, that this intense frost should have resulted from the mere floating of the atmosphere on the surface of the earth. The whole season hitherto had been warm, and the temperature, for several hundred miles in the direction of the wind, was the same as at Pittsfield. The cold was instantaneous, and the descent of the snow, and the freezing of the icicles, was completed within three quarters of an hour. During this period the wind could not have moved on the surface farther than from Albany, or at the utmost from Schenectady*.

In the progress of this journey I was forcibly struck with the wisdom of Divine Providence, displayed in the growth and decay of forests. The leaves of the vast collection of

* See this fact more largely considered, vol. i, p. 39.

trees, denoted by this name, constitute an immense mass of vegetable matter. Were they to be heaped together, as vegetable substances often are by the hand of man, they would, I presume, go through the usual process of fermentation and putrefaction. In this case they must become, throughout the surrounding country, not only offensive and intolerable, but productive of the various fatal diseases which owe their origin to decaying vegetables. It would be impossible, therefore, for man to fix his habitation in their neighbourhood, either with comfort or safety. Nay, a country universally forested, as North America was antecedently to the colonization of it by Europeans, would be absolutely uninhabitable to the end of time. For every planter, who made the attempt, would have perished, while he was endeavouring to clear sufficient ground to furnish himself and his family with sustenance.

The leaves of forest trees, it is well known, are universally deciduous; those of evergreens falling as usually and regularly as others. In this climate the leaves of all trees, except evergreens, are almost invariably bitten by frost before they fall. In consequence of this fact, the juices of the leaf are exhaled through the small ruptures, occasioned by freezing. The frame of the leaf, if I may give it this appellation, is in this manner stiffened, while it hangs on the tree; and does not descend till it has become perceptibly ligneous, and as incapable of fermentation as the wood itself. When it reaches the ground, it lies of course lightly and loosely on the surface, as do all the others which follow it; constituting, together, a mass so little compacted as to permit a free circulation of the air throughout every part of the accumulation. Hence the mass, whenever it is wet with rain, becomes soon dried; and the decay is suffered to go on, only with such a moderate degree of rapidity as to preserve the whole perfectly sweet and fragrant. By this curious process forested grounds are kept always healthy, and are not less friendly to the human constitution than those, which are under the most perfect culture. Of course, the planter sits down in them with an entire certainty that he has nothing to dread; an endemial disease is unknown, until settlements have advanced far towards complete cultivation.

The mass of leaves, formed and preserved in this manner, is, together with the trees which bore them, converted by a slow process of decay into vegetable mould. This mould appears to be the best of all manures; being suited to more kinds, and producing higher degrees, of vegetation than any other. Thus in forested grounds provision is made for a continually increasing fertility. Every subsequent growth of trees becomes of course larger and finer than the preceding, until the forest arrives to its utmost height and perfection.

In the mean time this mass of leaves, covering the surface entirely, prevents the springing of grass within the limits of the forest, and throughout a small breadth of the circumjacent ground. The seeds of forest trees will not germinate among grass. By preventing or destroying this kind of vegetation, therefore, an opportunity is furnished for these seeds to shoot, and thus to perpetuate, and gradually to enlarge the growth of the forest. But to this end it is further necessary, that the seed should lie on the surface; very few of them being capable of springing, when sunk below it even at a very little distance. Equally do they need to be continually enveloped in moisture. The leaves lying so loose, permit the seeds to descend to the earth, through their interstices; and the lowest stratum is regularly and sufficiently moist for this purpose. Thus they furnish all the means of enabling the seeds to germinate, and the stems to acquire ultimately their highest perfection.

Even this is not all. The vegetable mould supplies the first settlers with a vast quantity of manure, spread to their hands over every inch of their grounds; enriching them more, and enduring longer, than any other manure hitherto known. During the infancy of settlements, and amid the poverty which often gives them birth, the planters are assured of rich crops; and are thus encouraged and enabled to pursue the difficult employment of converting a forest into a cultivated country.

The next morning we rode to Stockbridge to dinner, and in the afternoon to the house of John Whittlesey, Esq., in the north-eastern corner of Salisbury.

The difference in the quantity of snow, which falls in the different parts of this country, has often been a subject of

much curiosity, and some investigation. That which fell in the evening preceding this day's journey covered the summits of Saddle Mountain with a clear, dazzling white; Taghkannuc with a less brilliant aspect; and the Green Mountains with a grisly appearance. Proximity either to the level or to the shore of the ocean, or elevation above the one, and distance from the other, have been commonly, and justly, considered as the general causes of mildness or severity of climate. Accordingly these mountains were enveloped in snow, proportioned to their elevation. But there are many local cases, which cannot be explained by any reference to these considerations.

There is ordinarily much less snow at Stockbridge than at Northampton. Yet Stockbridge, as appears by a comparison of the descent of the Hooestennuc with that of the Connecticut, is several hundred feet higher than Northampton; and the spring usually commences from a week to ten days earlier at Northampton than at Stockbridge. These towns are in Massachusetts, in the same latitude, and at the same distance from the Sound. There is annually much less snow at Bennington than at Stockbridge, yet Bennington is forty-five miles farther north, just so much farther from the ocean, and nearly on the same level.

Usually there is not more snow at Middlebury in Vermont, than at Northampton. Yet Middlebury is on a higher level than Northampton; one hundred and thirty miles farther from the Sound, and seventy from Massachusetts'-Bay.

There is much more snow at Albany than at Stockbridge, Bennington, or Middlebury; and ordinarily not more at Bennington than at New-Haven.

There is much more snow along the Mohawk river than in the towns along the great western road to Buffaloe Creek, which lie beyond Manlius.

At Goshen in Connecticut, forty-two miles north of New-Haven, there is commonly much more snow than at either of the places which have been mentioned. The height of Goshen above the sea imperfectly explains this fact: for at Litchfield, six miles south of Goshen, the quantity of snow is much less, although the elevation is nearly the same.

That other causes must be assigned for this difference is proved by the fact, that much less snow falls in some places

than in others, which lie at small distances. In the year 1791, I rode from Northampton to Norwich, the first township on the Green Mountains in a western direction, and distant about twelve miles. Four days before a snow four inches deep had fallen at Northampton, and had wholly disappeared. As I passed through Westhampton, the intervening township, lying immediately at the foot of these mountains, I saw in many places a thin layer of snow on the north side of the fences. When I had ascended about one hundred feet from the base of the mountains I found a hard sleigh path. Curiosity prompted me to alight, and measure the depth of the snow. It was twelve inches deep, compact and firm; and although open to the sun, and therefore partially wasted, was at least four times as much in quantity as had fallen at Northampton.

The following November I went to Bennington. At Windsor, the last township on the Green Mountains, which lies upon this road, the snow, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, fell, as we had repeated opportunities of observing, in the forested ground two feet deep. From Cheshire, a township at the foot of these mountains, to the house of Mr. Jones, the gentleman whom I have mentioned above, the distance was twelve miles, and occupied us the whole afternoon. Our road lay immediately under Saddle Mountain. East of it, from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, spread the valley of the Hoosac; and immediately beyond it ascended the Green Mountains. We saw the snow falling on Saddle Mountain in the morning before we left Windsor. It continued to fall through the day, and during the whole of our passage along the base of that mountain it fell without any intermission, at the distance of five or six rods from our path, where the acclivity was not elevated more than from thirty to fifty feet above us. Yet not a flake fell in the road, nor in any part of the valley: while on the Green Mountains it snowed at intervals through the day.

More snow almost always falls on the Milford, than on the Stratford, bank of Hooestennuc.

There is commonly more snow in the county of West-Chester, on the great road from New-Haven to New-York, than in the county of Fairfield. In both these cases the elevation is the same.

Mountains, it is known, strongly attract clouds. This is undoubtedly one cause of the superior quantity of snow on elevated grounds, but will not apply to the places last mentioned, nor to most of the others. Possibly there may be peculiar currents in the atmosphere, which, if they were sufficiently observed, might contribute to explain these difficulties.

Moist and cold soils have certainly more snow lying upon them in the ordinary course of seasons, than those which are warm and dry, although in the same neighbourhood, and at the same elevation.

Stockbridge and Bennington lie in narrow vallies, partially surrounded by mountains of considerable height. It is believed, that places situated in this manner rarely, if ever, experience great falls of snow, except from severe and long continued easterly storms.

The fact, that some places almost regularly have more snow than others, in the same latitude, on the same elevation, and at the same distance from the sea, appears to indicate, that the clouds are condensed over them by some permanent cause. Perhaps the inequalities of the earth's surface may furnish this cause. The wind, passing immediately over the surface, must always, when blowing from the same point, move in similar currents, and form similar convolutions. These will affect the course of the wind in the region immediately above the earth; and that, the current in a region still higher; and so on through an indefinite series of elevations. That this cause extends its efficacy high enough to reach the clouds is evident from the progress of thunder-storms. These, often where there are no considerable eminences to produce the effect, have in a good degree regular movements in particular places. Such storms, usually coming from the westward, when they reach the Hooestennuc, follow the course of that river southward to the Sound, between the townships of Milford and Stratford. Yet the country on both sides is very little elevated.

Immediately before the house of Mr. Whittlesey, towards the south, spreads a lake of pure water, about three miles in length. The manner, in which the ice in this lake breaks up, near the close of the winter, is, I believe, singular. In a warm day, though often not sufficiently warm to injure the sleighing,

the ice, with a noise like thunder, rises upon the shore in a ridge, frequently three feet or more in height, as if forced into this position for want of room. This position it keeps until it is dissolved by the vernal sun. Beneath the ridge of ice is raised a ridge of sand, of exactly the same height and figure with the inferior surface of the ice. This fact takes place yearly.

This gentleman, in the course of other interesting conversation, gave us the following account:—A number of years since he was standing by the side of a lake, about six miles long, in Washington, a township situated on the Green Mountains, in the county of Litchfield, when he observed a small cloud of mist ascend from the surface of the water, and settle upon the summit of a neighbouring eminence. This was soon followed by a second, a third, and, in the end, by a numerous series of such exhalations. Every one of them proceeded directly to the hill, where they soon formed a body of vapour, sufficiently large to embosom the summit. In a little time the mass began to move through the atmosphere in a south-eastern direction. Not long after it began to move, a flash of lightning burst from it, followed by a peal of thunder. In its progress it enlarged rapidly to the size of a wide-spread thunder-cloud, and thundered and lightened till it had left the horizon.

On my first journey to Vergennes, Mr. Chipman, a senator of the United States, from Vermont, informed me, that he was an eye-witness, not long before, of a phenomenon at Burlington, not unlike this. From Lake Champlain a copious exhalation ascended in the form of long curved lines, or threads, and rapidly directed their course to a small cloud, which hung over Onion river, at the distance of two or three miles. In this cloud they all centred, and terminated their motions, appearing in some measure like meridians in the stereographic projection of a sphere. After a little while, the cloud began to move up the river with great velocity, discharging frequent flashes of lightning and loud peals of thunder in its passage. At no great distance, the wind which carried it became a violent tornado, and spread desolation through the valley of this river.

Friday morning, October 18th, we rode to the south end of the lake, accompanied by Mr. Whittlesey, to examine a rock,

of which a singular, not to say an incredible, opinion prevails in the vicinity. Our road, for near half a mile, lay on a natural causey, about thirty feet in breadth, which separated the lake into two parts, and was formed of earth, probably washed up by its waves. The rock, which was the particular object of our curiosity, is said, by inhabitants long settled here, to have moved a considerable distance from the spot where it anciently stood, towards the south-western shore. You will not suppose we considered this story as founded either in truth or good sense. However, having long believed it to be prudent, and made it a regular practice, whenever it was convenient, to examine the foundation of reports credited by sober men, I determined to investigate this, as I saw that it was firmly believed by several discreet persons. One particularly, a man of unquestioned reputation, and long resident near the spot, declared, that, about forty years since, the top of this rock, at the ordinary height of the water, was at least two feet below its surface, and fifteen or twenty rods farther from the causey than when we saw it. The shore has unquestionably remained as it then was; for the trees and stumps standing on the causey are older than any man now living, and the space between them and the lake is very narrow, scarcely extending fifteen feet from the trees.

The top of the rock is now at least two feet above the water. This height it is declared to have gained imperceptibly, year by year, for many years, in consequence of its advancing towards the shore, and standing continually in water more and more shallow. The water is evidently of the same depth now as formerly, as is proved by the appearance of the shore.

When we came up to the rock, which was standing where the water was scarcely knee-deep, we found a channel behind it, towards the deeper water, formed in the earth, about fifteen rods in length. It was serpentine in its form, and was sunk from two to three feet below the common level of the bottom on its borders. In the front of the rock the earth was pushed up in a heap, so as to rise above the water, declining, however, at the distance of a few inches, obliquely and pretty rapidly. Not far from this rock we saw another, much less, attended by the same phenomena, except that they were diminished in proportion to its size. The whole appearance of

each was just such as one would expect to find, if both had actually removed from their original places towards the shore, throughout the length of their respective channels. How these channels were formed, or by what cause the earth was heaped up in front of these rocks, I must leave to the divination of others. The facts I have stated, as I believe, exactly.

Several years since this account was first written, I met with the following paragraph in the collections of the Massachusetts' Historical Society, vol. iii, p. 240: — "There is a curiosity to be seen in the Long pond in Bridgton. On the easterly side of the pond, about midway, is a cove, which extends about one hundred rods farther east than the general course of the shore; the bottom is clay, and the water so shoal, that a man may wade fifty rods into the pond. On the bottom of this cove are stones of various sizes, which, it is evident from visible circumstances, have an annual motion towards the shore. The proof of this is the mark or track left behind them, and the bodies of clay driven up before them. Some of these are, perhaps, two or three tons weight, and have left a track several rods behind them, having at least a common cart load of clay before them. These stones are many of them covered with water at all seasons of the year. The shore of this cove is lined with these stones three feet deep, which, it would seem, have crawled out of the water. This may afford matter of speculation to the natural philosopher."

Until I saw this paragraph, I did not imagine that a story, such as I received at Salisbury, would ever be repeated.

We parted with Mr. Whittlesey at Salisbury cataract, and rode to Litchfield. The next morning, October 20th, I left Mr. D—— at Litchfield, and reached New-Haven the same evening.

Twenty miles from New-Haven I observed, that the forest trees had suffered much less from the frost than those which grew farther in the interior, and that such as were exposed to the north-west wind were much less affected than others. Permit me to make a few observations on this subject.

A white frost is merely frozen dew. You have undoubtedly observed, that the chrystals formed by this little mas of water are small needles of different sizes and lengths, standing at the usual angles of 60° and 120°. Wherever the parts of these

crystals cohere, the particles of water are drawn nearer together than they were in a fluid state. Everywhere else they are separated farther asunder. By the contracting process some parts of the plant are drawn nearer together than in their natural position. By the expanding one, if I may call it such, others are forced to separate. In this manner the delicate vessels of tender plants are broken, and the membranes of their leaves torn. The juices exude of course, and the whole growth, above the lowest rupture, perishes for want of nutriment. The only method in which this catastrophe can be prevented is to restore warmth to it very gradually, or, in the vulgar phraseology, to take out frost, by the affusion of cold water. In consequence of this application the several parts of the plant re-unite, and the wound becomes healed. If the warmth is communicated suddenly, as by the shining of the sun, this re-union never takes place, and the plant is ruined.

It is a common opinion throughout this country, that the way to preserve tender plants most effectually, from the injury done by the white frost, is to place them in a warm, southern exposure, sheltered from northerly winds. If the account I have given of the subject is just, it will be easily seen, that this opinion is erroneous. The great object ought to be to prevent the dew from resting upon the plant. This can be effectually done, only by exposing it to the free access of the north-west wind, the source of almost every white frost in this country. Wherever plants have had such an exposure, within my knowledge, they have been either wholly, or chiefly safe from the ravages of this dangerous enemy.

The following facts will sufficiently illustrate these observations:—Major White, a respectable inhabitant of South-Hadley, had an orchard, which stood on the north-western declivity of a hill, of so rapid a descent, that every tree was entirely brushed by the winds from that quarter. The spot lay about four miles directly south-eastward from the gap between Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke. Through this gap these winds blow, as you will suppose, with peculiar strength. Accordingly they swept the dew from this orchard so effectually, that its blossoms regularly escaped the injuries of such late frosts in the spring as destroy those of the surrounding country. So remarkable was this exemption, that the in-

habitants of South-Hadley proverbially styled such a frost "Major White's harvest," because his orchard yielded a great quantity of cider, which in such years commanded a very high price.

It has been commonly believed, that low grounds are peculiarly liable to frosts. This is universally true where such grounds are sheltered from the north-west winds, but not where they are exposed to them. A Mr. Lyman, of Hoccanum, a hamlet on the southern border of Hadley, whose house stood at a small distance north-west from the above-mentioned gap, informed me, that in nine years, during which he had lived on this spot, the white frosts had never done any injury to the vegetables in his garden. This ground was part of an interval, elevated scarcely twenty feet above Connecticut river.

A Mr. Bradley, of Greenfield (Connecticut), in the year 1793, planted, very early, some cucumbers in the north-western corner of his garden, where the ground was completely sheltered by a close fence on the northern and western sides. At the same time he planted others in the middle of his garden. The great frost, on the morning of May 18th, destroyed all the former, while the latter entirely escaped. This frost was more severe than any other, at so late a season, within my knowledge. In many places it killed the leaves of the forest trees, and, in some, the rye, then in blossom, and the spear grass.

My own garden on Greenfield-hill declined easily towards the east, yet its position was such, that the western fence being an open one, it was brushed by the winds from the north-west even more effectually than most grounds which decline towards that point. Accordingly, I never lost a single plant by a white frost, during the nine years of my residence on that spot.

But a fact more remarkable than any of these is the following:—In the garden of the Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Green's farms, a row of bush beans, a plant particularly tender, had, at the time of the great frost specified above, grown on the western side of one of the alleys, running from north to south, to the height of perhaps eight inches. Immediately west of this row of beans stood six or eight double rows of peas, at right angles with the beans, each at this time being about two feet

in breadth, and a yard in height. Such of the beans as stood at the ends of the rows of peas, and were sheltered by them from the westerly wind, were killed; while all those, which stood in the interstices (openings about six feet in breadth), were uninjured. Of these facts I was an eye-witness.

As nearly every such frost is produced by the north-west wind, it is evident, that plants, from which the dew is swept away by this wind, will escape; while those, which by being sheltered from its current retain the dew, will be destroyed. The facts already mentioned, it is believed, prove this point beyond all reasonable debate. Instead, therefore, of placing tender plants, or fruit trees, in a southern exposure, or in any situation sheltered from the north-west winds, they ought to be laid open to its influence as much as possible. Orchards of all kinds, particularly, ought to be planted on north-western, or, where they cannot be obtained, on western or northern declivities, so that, as much as possible, every tree may have the benefit of this exposure. On a plain the trees in the middle of an orchard will be effectually sheltered by those on the border, and will therefore always be in danger.

I am, Sir, &c.

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

LETTER I.

State of New-York. Its Extent and Population. Account of what has been done for the Support of Learning and Religion. The different Sects into which it is divided.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of New-York contains about forty-five thousand square miles, about five thousand less than England. Almost all of it is capable of cultivation. Probably the part which will be ultimately left in a forested state will be less than enough to supply the demands of the inhabitants for timber and fuel. As the soil is rich, the climate favourable, and the inhabitants sufficiently intelligent and industrious to avail themselves of their advantages, the state is capable of sustaining a population as great in proportion as that of England; or from seven to nine millions of inhabitants. If any thing should prevent this accumulation of people, it will probably be the want of fuel.

No country can be more advantageously situated for commerce. No commercial city can boast of a more advantageous position than that of New-York. The Hudson, in proportion to its size, is inferior to no river in the world in commercial facilities. The great lakes on the east, north, and west, yield a navigation nowhere equalled by waters of the same kind. Even the Susquehannah, obstructed as it now is, will one day furnish, with its branches, an extensive communication with the Atlantic. When the artificial aids to navigation are provided, which may be rationally expected from the future wealth and enterprise of the inhabitants, they will be able to transport the

products of their labour in vessels of different sorts, almost from their own doors.

Of this commerce the mineral, vegetable, and animal productions of the country will furnish ample materials.

Of the manufactures of this state I have already taken sufficient notice.

From the character of the inhabitants, the nature of the soil and climate, the proximity to navigable waters, always stimulating industry, and the abundance of gypsum found in many parts of the country, the agriculture of this state will in all probability advance at least equally with that of any other in the Union.

From these considerations it is evident, that the necessaries and conveniences of life will be found here in a degree not inferior to that in which they are obtained in any other country.

The militia of this state are, like those already described, inferior in their discipline to those of Connecticut, and still more to those of Massachusetts; and, as a body, somewhat less hardy and energetic than those of Vermont, New-Hampshire, and Maine. Substantially they are the same men, and are regulated in much the same manner. Their number is not far from 120,000.

The rapidity, with which the population of New-York has increased, is without a parallel. In the year 1790 they amounted to 340,120; in 1800, to 484,620; and, in 1810, to 959,220 *.

A great part of the population, thus rapidly accumulated, has been derived from New-England. From three-fifths to two-thirds of the inhabitants have originated from that country. The proportion is continually increasing. New-York is, therefore, to be ultimately regarded as a colony from New-England. It is not to be expected, however, that this stream of colonization will continue to flow hither with the same rapidity for any number of years to come. The lands in this state have in many parts already risen to such a price as must discourage new settlers, such I mean as usually venture first into the wilderness; and the region north of the Ohio presents a vast tract, equally fertile, and in a climate still milder, to invite

* By the census of 1820 the population of this state was 1,379,989.—*Pub.*

immigration. Accordingly, the current of population from the New-England states, during the year 1815, has principally flowed into its borders. Still the number of inhabitants in New-York will increase for a long time to come, from immigration as well as from the natural multiplication of its inhabitants. It is to be observed, that great numbers are continually crowding into this state for commercial as well as for agricultural purposes.

Antecedently to the revolution, little was done by the inhabitants of the province of New-York for the encouragement of literature. The original Dutch colonists came to this country with designs and dispositions exclusively commercial. They were under the control of the Dutch West-India company, consisting of a body of merchants, whose measures were entirely governed by considerations of pecuniary profit and loss. As the charter of this company was limited to a short number of years, the present profit and loss were alone regarded. In such a situation it was not to be expected, that any attention should be paid to learning, although the literature of the Dutch nation had at this very period risen to high distinction. The colonists themselves were mere adventurers, who had crossed the ocean in pursuit of gain, and were in a great measure discouraged from forming any permanent plans of improvement, by a consciousness of their exposure to the hostilities of the English, hostilities against which they were unable to make any effectual defence. They were also always threatened, and often harassed by the Indians.

But, notwithstanding these discouragements, the legislature of the colony passed a law in 1683* for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with ministers. In this law it was provided, that in the city and county of New-York, in Richmond and King's counties, and in two precincts of the county of Westchester respectively, a Protestant minister, qualified to officiate and to have the care of souls, should be called, inducted, and established. It was also provided in the same act, that the freedolders of these places should every year be summoned to choose ten vestrymen and two churchwardens, who, together with the justices of each city, county, and pre-

* See Bradford's Collection, folio 19.

cinct, should be authorized to assess a tax for the maintenance of the ministry, and of the poor, in their respective districts.

This seems to have been the only law relative to any subject, literary or ecclesiastical, passed by the legislature to this period.

Lord Cornbury, then governor of the province, at the opening of the session of the legislature, in 1702, recommended in his speech the establishment of schools. But the bigotry of this nobleman was so apparent in all his measures, and was so intermingled with most of them, that the legislature, as well as the inhabitants, became too jealous of his designs to second them, even when they were not in themselves liable to objections. Those, who had framed the act mentioned above, insisted, that it was intended to embrace Protestant ministers of every denomination. His lordship, on the contrary, claimed, that neither minister could preach, nor schoolmaster instruct, without a licence from himself, a favour, which it was well known would never be granted to any but Episcopalians. His lordship, and a majority of the council, belonged to this class of Christians. A great majority of the representatives, and of the inhabitants throughout the province, were either Dutch or English Presbyterians. Between parties formed of these materials, at that time in a state of absolute discordance, harmony could scarcely be expected, especially in such measures as respected these objects.

The jealousies, excited by the violent administration of this purblind bigot, continued for a long period. In 1752 and 1753, some attempts were made to create a fund for the establishment of a seminary of learning. Immediately it was suspected and reported, that the seminary was intended to promote the interests of Episcopacy. Such was the consequent alarm and agitation, as to occasion a resolve * of the House of Representatives in 1753, "that a report, that the deficiency of the fund, destined to support a college, was intended to be supplied by tax, was groundless, false, and malicious."

"On the 1st of November, 1751†, the trustees appointed for managing the fund reported to the assembly a statement of their trust-fund; and that an offer had been made by the

* Journals, vol. ii, fol. 350.

† Journals, vol. ii, fol. 396.

rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York, in communion with the church of England as by law established, to give part of the church farm for the erection of a college.

"" Mr. William Livingston, one of the trustees, who was afterwards governor of the state of New-Jersey, made a supplementary report, which disclosed, that the grant offered by the Episcopal church was on condition, ' that the head or master of the seminary or college be a member of, and in communion with the church of England as by law established; and that the liturgy of the said church, or a collection of prayers out of the said Liturgy, be the constant morning and evening prayers used in the said college for ever.' This report he accompanied with a protest, containing a number of objections, which were ordered to be entered on the journals of the assembly *. Soon after which a bill was brought into that house for incorporating a college on a very liberal and comprehensive basis. But an incorporation having been effected by a royal charter, it never became a law. The bill has been preserved in the same journals with the reports.

" The college-charter contained some pre-eminences of the Episcopal faith, which received no modification till after the revolution. Its practical effect was the resort of many of the youth of the colony to the colleges in the neighbouring colonies, whose principle and discipline were more congenial to the religious tenets of their parents and guardians."

For the preceding account I am indebted to the Honourable Mr. Lansing, late chancellor of this state. Mr. Lansing subjoins, " The munificence, which has so strongly marked the progress of the state government to promote the interests of literature, was undoubtedly one of the salutary effects of the equal rights secured by the revolution, which has infused a more manly and liberal spirit; and men of all religious persuasions have zealously united in the support of literary establishments, and in cheerfully opening the temples of science to all without discrimination."

After the revolution, a corporation was created by the legislature, to consist of twenty-one members, the governor and lieutenant-governor being always of the number, and styled

* Journals, folio 400.

"The Regents of the University of New-York." This body has the power of establishing colleges and academies in every part of the state where they shall judge it expedient, and of superintending its literature. The state of these seminaries they report annually to the legislature.

The three colleges of New-York have been already mentioned. The number of academies may perhaps be fifty; several of them flourishing, and probably all of them useful institutions. For all these seminaries the legislature have provided with a very liberal hand. They have also furnished very large funds for the establishment of common schools. No state in the American Union has discovered a more munificent spirit towards the promotion of learning.

Of the religion of this state it is impossible to obtain an accurate account, at least by any means within my reach. The following is the best which I am able to procure.

In the year 1815 there were forty-five Episcopal churches in this state; beside, as it should seem, several congregations so small as to be unable to build churches.

The number of ministers officiating in these churches, so far as I am able to learn it from the journal published by the convention, is thirty-two.

The return of communicants in the journal is imperfect. The number may be stated at three thousand two hundred and forty. Of these one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight are in the city of New-York; and one thousand six hundred and sixty-five in the country. The number of communicants in St. George's church, not being returned, is not included in either of these statements. Had it been added, the number in the city would probably have exceeded that in the country. Several of the returns state, that the number of communicants is about so many, and one, that it is between seventy and eighty. Several of the congregations in New-York are very large. Those in the country are chiefly small. It is understood, that many of them have been materially aided in building their churches, and several of them in supporting their ministers, by the corporation of Trinity church, in the city of New-York.

The number of Baptist congregations in this state, as reported in Benedict's History of the Baptists, printed at Boston

in 1813, the author of which, in his History of the New-York Association, as my informant, a respectable Baptist, observes, has grossly misrepresented a number of facts relating to it, and some of its members, is two hundred and eighty-six. The correctness of this account I must be permitted to doubt, but have no means of ascertaining the real state of the facts. It is however to be observed, that as the Baptists in the country congregations are under no obligation to support ministers, every little cluster of Baptists is considered as a congregation. The word "congregation" may be considered as denoting an assembly, made up of four families or four hundred. Some of the Baptist congregations in the city of New-York I suppose to be considerable for their numbers. Many of those in the country, if I am not misinformed, are supplied with preaching, when they are supplied at all, by itinerants. Their ministers, as in New-England, are chiefly uneducated men.

The following is the distribution of the Baptist congregations:—

In the New-York association	28	Page 508 to 514.
Warwich, ditto	20	
Union	10	
Rensselaerville	16	
Saratoga	23	
Lake George	6	
Essex	6	
St. Lawrence	4	
Black river	9	
Otsego	34	
Franklin	16	
Madison	31	
Cayuga	40	
Holland purchase	10	
In Chemung association	12	p. 515
Not included in associations	21	p. 550
Total	286 Churches*.	

The Presbyterian congregations in the year 1814 were one

* Ecclesiastical churches; not buildings.

hundred and seventy-five, distributed into nine presbyteries and three synods.

The number of ministers the same year was one hundred and thirty-two.

Many of the congregations are large, and few of them are small.

The great body of inhabitants throughout the state are of this denomination. But as a large number of the settlements are recent, and many of them sparsely formed, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants, hitherto, are unable to unite in collections sufficiently numerous and wealthy to build churches and support ministers. To lessen this evil, the missionary societies, both in New-England and in New-York, have for many years sent a numerous train of missionaries into the western and northern parts of this state, who, beside preaching to the inhabitants, have been employed in gathering churches, administering the sacraments, distributing Bibles, and other books, and tracts, and performing various other offices of benevolence. The consequences of these measures have been eminently happy.

There is a considerable number of Friends, or Quakers, in this state, but I am unable to say how great. Nor can I ascertain the number of their meetings.

The number of Methodists I have no means of ascertaining.

Beside these, there are a few congregations of Scotch Covenanters, one of Moravians, a few of Lutherans, three or four of Roman Catholics, one at least of Universalists, a small number of Shakers, a synagogue of Jews, some followers of Jemima Wilkinson, and possibly some others of whose existence I am ignorant.

Beside all these, there is also a considerable number of Nihilists, scattered in different parts of the state.

The thirty-eighth article of this state secures to all mankind, when found within its limits, "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference;" excluding, however, acts of licentiousness, and practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state.

On the 6th of April, 1784, an act was passed by the legislature, "to enable all the religious denominations of this state

to appoint trustees, who shall be a body corporate for the purpose of taking care of the temporalities of their respective congregations, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

By the act every church assembled together at the place, where they statedly attend for Divine worship, is empowered by a plurality of voices to elect not less than three, nor more than nine, discreet and prudent persons as trustees, to take charge of the estate and property belonging to them respectively, and to transact all affairs relating to their temporalities. In this meeting every male person of full age, who has been considered as belonging to the body assembled, is authorized to vote.

The names of the persons elected are, by the persons constituted the returning officers for this purpose, to be certified, and the certificate proved and acknowledged before the chancellor, one of the judges of the supreme court, or any one of the judges of the court of common pleas of the county. The certificate is to be recorded by the clerk of the county in a book, kept for that purpose, and is to contain the style, name, or title, by which the trustees are to be known as a body corporate.

The trustees thus constituted may receive, purchase, and hold, property for the use of the church, congregation, or society, to the amount of 3,000 dollars annual income, and are invested with all the powers necessary for the due management of it. They are empowered to have a common seal, to regulate pew-rents and perquisites, and all other matters belonging to the temporal concerns and revenues of such societies. Their succession is to be kept up in this manner: they are divided into three classes, one of which goes out annually, and their place is to be supplied, annually, by a new election.

The minister's salary is to be fixed by a vote of the majority of the electors, but confirmed and paid by the trustees.

After the first election, no person can be an elector, who has not been a stated attendant on Divine worship in the society, and contributed to its support according to its usages.

Every such body of trustees is required to exhibit, upon oath, between the 1st of January and the 1st of April, once in three years, an account and inventory of the real and personal property belonging to the society for which they act, to the chancellor, one of the judges of the supreme court, or any

of the judges of the court of common pleas, in the county where the society is situated; and in case of failure they thenceforth cease to be a body corporate.

Some small alterations were afterwards made in the provisions of this act, in compliance with a request from the Dutch churches in this state, by which the ministers, elders, and deacons, of the several Dutch churches were constituted their trustees.

Afterwards the corporation of Trinity Church in New-York was empowered to take and use the name of "the rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York, in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the state of New-York."

Concerning the provisions of this law, it is to be observed, that for a vast proportion of the congregations in this state it proposes no kind of benefit whatever, *viz.* such as have no common property. This, it is presumed, is now, and probably will for a long period to come be the fact with respect to nineteen-twentieths of the whole, exclusively of the buildings in which they assemble for public worship. Without a minister such buildings are of little value, and the law, the only one concerning the subject, does not enable the congregation to provide any means for the support of a minister. This is left, as the legislature found it, to mere voluntary contribution. Where a congregation is very large, and the burthen of consequence very light, the object may be accomplished without much difficulty. Where this is not the case, ministers may indeed be settled, and for a time supported. But as every man knows that he can lay down this burthen whenever he pleases, multitudes will for this very reason lay it down. When the power is possessed, it will be exercised; and pretences will never be wanting to justify the exercise. At the best, the minister will hold his living on a tenour absolutely precarious; and this, of itself, will discourage men, qualified for the office, from entering into it. The people, therefore, may be left for religious instruction to men utterly unqualified; to men destitute of the knowledge, without which it is impossible that they should teach, and who thrust themselves into the pulpit merely because they are too lazy to work. No greater calamity can befal a people than this, if we suppose them in a state of health and peace, except being saddled with a corrupt ministry.

But this is not all. If the trustees fail to make the triennial

exhibition specified, of the property belonging to the congregation, they cease to be a corporate body, and the affairs of the congregation are set afloat. Should the trustees, or the individual member of their board to whom the business of making this exhibition is delegated, choose to throw the affairs of the congregation into confusion, he has nothing further to do than barely to omit this duty till the 2d of April in the given year. For such an omission how many plausible justifications may be pleaded. Some years ago the congregation of East-Ballstown was broken up in this very manner, and the minister, to whom they were strongly attached, was dismissed, merely in consequence of the confusion occasioned by the measure.

No penalty is provided in the law to punish negligence. The loss of their corporate powers may, and in many cases will, gratify the trustees instead of mortifying them.

From these observations you will easily discern how uncertain the tenour is, by which ministers hold their places of settlement throughout a large part of this state. Accordingly, a considerable number of them have been actually dismissed, and such of them as have had it in their power have, in many instances, returned to New-England. It is to be hoped, that the inhabitants of New-York will, ere long, adopt wiser and better measures for the purpose of establishing among themselves, and providing for their children, a regular continuance of the public worship of God.

The Dutch congregations are to be regarded as a general exception to these remarks. This sober, steadfast people, deriving their birth from the United Netherlands, where the wisest plan for supporting the ministry of the Gospel, which the world has ever known, had been long adopted, came to America with fixed habits concerning this subject, and have hitherto retained them. They pay the salary, which they have once engaged, so long as the minister lives, whether he be able or unable to officiate. In this honourable conduct, it is believed, they stand alone, and exhibit an example worthy of being followed by those of every other religious denomination.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Constitution of the State. Legislature. Electors. Executive. Courts. Council of Appointment and Supreme Court of Errors, so constituted as to affect the State in a manner unfortunate and mischievous.

DEAR SIR;

THE constitution of the state of New-York consists of forty-two articles, most of them differing little from those found in other American instruments of the same nature.

The legislature is formed of a senate and house of assembly, the former consisting, originally, of twenty-four, and the latter of at least seventy members. The senate can never consist of more than one hundred, nor the assembly of more than three hundred. The powers and privileges of these two bodies are much the same as in the other states. Neither house can adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other.

Every male inhabitant of full age, resident in the state six months before the day of election, if a freeholder possessing a freehold to the value of twenty pounds within the county, or having rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty shillings, and having been rated, and actually paid taxes to the state, is entitled to vote for the representatives of the county in assembly.

Electors of senators must possess freeholds to the value of one hundred pounds. By these the governor also is elected.

The governor continues in office three years, and is in-

vested with the usual powers attached to the gubernatorial chair.

The governor, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court, or any two of them together with the governor, are constituted a council, to revise all bills, about to be passed into laws by the legislature, and for that purpose always assemble, whenever the legislature is convened. All bills, which have passed the senate and assembly, are presented to them for examination. If they judge it improper, that a bill should pass, they return it, with their objections in writing, to the senate or the assembly, *i. e.* to the house in which the bill originated. These objections the house is required to enter at large in their minutes, and to reconsider the bill; but if two-thirds of both houses adhere to the bill, it becomes a law.

If the council of revision do not return the bill in ten days, it becomes a law.

The assembly every year openly nominates and appoints a senator from each of the four districts into which the state is divided, to be a council for the appointment of the various officers in the state, exclusive of those which are elected by the people, or appointed by the legislature. Of this council the chief executive for the time being, whether governor, lieutenant-governor, or president of the senate, is president, and has a casting voice, but no other vote; and with the advice and consent of the council appoints all the said officers.

The same senators cannot be elected to this council two years successively.

A majority of the council forms a quorum.

The chancellor, the judges of the supreme court, and the first judge of each county court, hold their offices during good behaviour, or until they have respectively attained the age of sixty years.

Sheriffs and coroners are annually appointed, and are incapable of holding their offices more than four years respectively.

The house of assembly has the power of impeaching all officers of the state; but two-thirds of the members present must consent to such impeachment.

The court for the trial of impeachments is to consist of the

president of the senate, the senators, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court, or the major part of them.

The same persons constitute the supreme court of errors.

No minister of the Gospel is eligible to any civil or military office or place within the state.

No acts of attainder can work a corruption of blood.

The trial by jury is established, and remains inviolate forever.

The legislature can at no time institute any new court, or courts, but such as proceed according to the course of the common law.

All persons within the state are secured in the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference.

Such are the principal features of the constitution of New-York. Some of them lie open to animadversion. Of those, the principal in its importance is the provision made for forming the council of appointment. This council has been at once the subject, and the source, of a kind of perpetual convulsion in the state. As this body appoints all the officers, except a very small number, in the state, every election of governor, senator, and representative, is contrived and carried on with a direct reference to the constitution of this council. All men, who wish for offices, either for themselves or others, give their votes and their influence for such persons as they believe will contribute to the choice of such a council, as will confer the offices agreeably to their wishes. Hence caballing, and electioneering, disturb the peace of the state, and deprave the minds of its inhabitants from one election to another. With the same spirit, the house of representatives appear to assemble, with a conviction that this is the principal object for which they meet; and to determine it agreeably to their wishes, appears to occupy their primary thoughts. To compass it this very year, a part of the assembly sacrificed, in the face of day, law, principle, and decency. While this engine of mischief continues, there is little reason to hope, that the inhabitants of the state will ever enjoy even a tolerable degree of peace.

The supreme court of errors is also little else than a nui-

sance. You will remember, that it is composed of the senate, its president, the chancellor, and the judges of the supreme court. These, you will naturally say, must form a very respectable body. The French academy, if I mistake not, at the instance of Louis XIV, published a Dictionary of the French Language. It was universally condemned. Furetiere, one of their number, published another which was universally approved. The reason in both cases is obvious. The dictionary of the academy was formed by the worst votes, as well as by the best; and the worst are always a majority. Furetiere's was formed by his own vote; and that was probably the best, or one of the best, among the whole number. The votes of the chancellor and judges, in all cases of law, and perhaps of equity, may be regarded fairly as possessing the highest authority. A part of the senate may be supposed, also, to be able judges of these subjects. But the majority of a body, consisting of such numbers, chosen in such a manner, by such electors, and for the mere purposes of legislation; especially when they are often, to say the least, created by cabal and intrigue, carried into office by the mere spirit of party on the ground of a temporary and causeless popularity, and intended to be the instruments of sinister designs; must, from their ignorance of law, their total unacquaintance with judicial decisions, and not unfrequently their want even of enlightened education, be a most unfortunate tribunal for the decision of such questions as will often come before them, and for the final establishment of law.

The perpetual fluctuation of office in this state, growing out of its constitution, is also an evil, the magnitude of which it is difficult to estimate. Were the puisne judges of the county courts, the sheriffs, the clerks of the counties, and perhaps a few other officers of less importance, fixed permanently in their stations, the inhabitants of New-York would soon enjoy a quiet, which, I am afraid, lies now beyond the horizon of their view.

As the state of things actually is, they seem destined to suffer for an indefinite period the evils of political turmoil; and those in a degree which a traveller, passing through their country, and discerning the ample means of prosperity which

God has put in their possession, will deeply lament. I know no physical reason, why the people of this state may not be as prosperous and happy as any people on the globe. Their moral and political concerns certainly, and very seriously, demand a reformation. The defects in their constitution, which I have mentioned, are radical. Their council of appointment is one of the most unfortunate branches of government, which could have been devised for them by the bitterest enemy; a firebrand, which annually threatens a conflagration to the whole political edifice, and will ultimately lay it in ashes. Their supreme court of errors, also, though I am aware that examples are not wanting, which may and will be pleaded for its justification, is a political solecism of the grossest kind. Here men, and those usually a majority, sit to canvass and to reverse the judicial decisions of the ablest and wisest tribunals; some of whom through the want of principle, and all through the want of sufficient knowledge, are totally incompetent to decide on the questions proposed for their determination. A part of them will annually be farmers, merchants, speculators, and particularly that restless, bustling, office-hunting race of beings, who are customarily known by the title of demagogues. In seasons of quiet the senate of New-York will probably consist of respectable members, in a proportion sufficiently large to ensure the welfare of the community. During the reign of party this is scarcely possible. In either case there will always be found a deficiency of that legal knowledge, by which alone questions of law can be safely decided. Nothing can be more preposterous than to submit questions, involving in their nature profound learning and extensive science, to the determination of those, who possess neither. Virtue alone, in whatever degree existing, never qualified a man for the office of a judge.

So long as the violence of party, and the insatiable thirst for office and its emoluments, predominate in this state, it is not to be supposed, that its citizens will admit the justice of these remarks, or give them even a sober consideration. I may, however, be permitted to hope, as well as to wish, that the storm will one day be overpast, and be succeeded by serenity and sunshine.

Then, without any violence to probability, it may be believed, juster views may be adopted, happier dispositions operate, and more auspicious measures be pursued. In such a case the people of this state would find abundant reason for felicitating themselves, and for acknowledging with ardent gratitude the smiles of Heaven upon their country. Until that time, their struggles will in all probability resemble not a little those which have ruined almost every republic. The greatest evil in republican governments is, ordinarily, fluctuation; the greatest blessing, stability.

I am, Sir, &c.

JOURNEY TO LONG-ISLAND.

LETTER I.

Passage from Norwalk to Huntington. Lloyd's Neck. Town of Huntington. Smithtown. Setaucket. Brookhaven. Riverhead: its Courts. Southhold. Oyster Point. Fisher's Island. Plumb Island.

DEAR SIR;

IN company with professor D——, of Yale college, Mr. S——, one of the tutors, and Mr. D——, a graduate of that institution, I set out, May 9th, 1804, on a journey to Long-Island. The first day we rode to Greenfield, twenty-four miles; and the next, to Norwalk, nine. Here we continued till Monday the 14th, the wind being unfavourable for passing the Sound. On Monday, at five o'clock in the morning, we embarked with our horses on board the Huntington ferry boat. After leaving Norwalk river, the mouth of which is a good harbour for vessels of less than one hundred tons, the wind became very feeble, shifted suddenly and frequently throughout the whole day, and, what was very tedious, shifted, in almost every instance, in such a manner as to retard our progress. We had breakfasted early, and on meagre diet, and were miserably provided with food, both as to quantity and quality, for the day. My companions ate merely to satisfy the corrodings of hunger. I fasted till after three the succeeding morning. To add to our troubles, a thunder-storm overtook us in the mouth of Huntington harbour at nine o'clock in the evening. Our quarter deck was leaky, and permitted the rain to descend upon us in streams, not at

all resembling those of Helicon*. Time, patience, and apathy, however, helped us through the train of our difficulties, and at half after two we landed at the usual place. Here we found a very decent house. The family arose with a great deal of good nature, and entertained us very kindly, and very well. We went to bed between three and four, rose at ten, and between eleven and twelve pursued our journey to Setaucket: twenty-five miles.

Huntington is an ancient settlement; the westernmost of those in the county of Suffolk, which were formed by colonists from New-England. The township extends from north to south through the whole breadth of the island, ten or twelve miles; and about the same distance from east to west. The town is built six miles from the northern shore, at the head of a bay, named Huntington Bay, and during the revolution the principal station for the British ships of war in the Sound. This bay is large, and deep enough to receive the greatest number of vessels, which ever assemble at any single place; furnishes good anchorage, and is safe from all winds. Its mouth is formed by two peninsulas, or, as they are here termed, necks; Eaton's on the east, and Lloyd's on the west. On the former of these is a light-house. Few places more demand such a structure, or furnish for it a more commodious situation. The rocks, which project from this neck, and are a continuation of its base into the Sound, have in several instances proved fatal to seamen. Captain Keeler, a worthy and intelligent inhabitant of Norwalk, returning from the West-Indies after a prosperous voyage, entered the Sound on the 16th of January, in the year 1791. I then resided at Greenfield, and distinctly remember the day; and never saw a winter day which was more pleasant. In the evening there arose a tremendous storm. The brig was driven upon these rocks, and every person on board perished.

* One fact concerning this boat well deserves to be recorded. The ferryman informed me, that it was built and had been employed for some time, I have forgotten how long, in crossing this ferry antecedently to the revolutionary war. It was now therefore more than thirty years old. This is a strong proof, that the oak of New-England and New-York, when managed with skill, furnishes a lasting material for ship-building. Very little had been done to keep this vessel in repair.

Lloyd's neck is a large and valuable estate, belonging to a respectable family of that name, which has been in possession of it for a long time. It is connected, at the western end, with the township of Oyster Bay, by a narrow strip of sand. On the southern side of this peninsula is a pretty romantic retreat, named Queen's Village, and handsomely celebrated by the late Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey, in his Philosophic Solitude. I visited the place formerly, and thought it not undeserving of the character attributed to it by that gentleman.

The town of Huntington we left on our right, intending to pass through it upon our return. As we failed of accomplishing this design, I am able to describe it only as it appeared to me many years since. It was then loosely and indifferently built. As we now passed by it, several good houses and a well-looking church, newly erected, showed us a handsome addition to its former appearance. The inhabitants, at the time to which I refer, were esteemed sober, industrious, and religious. The revolutionary war affected them unhappily in all these respects. Within a few years past several revivals of religion have extensively renewed their ancient character. The soil of the township is light, warm, moderately good, and well suited to all the productions of the climate.

Huntington lies about three miles south of the general line of the north shore. The country from Huntington to Setauket is, on the middle road (that which we took), formed of interchanging hills and vallies, and a few plains, none of them extensive. The greater part of it is forested, principally with oak and chesnut, but with an interspersion of hickory, cherry, and several other kinds of trees.

The best land, which we saw on this day's journey, is in and about Smithtown. Here we dined, or rather wished to dine; the inn at which we stopped, and the only one on the road, not having the means of enabling us to satisfy our wishes. In this humble mansion, however, we found a young lady about eighteen, of a fine form and complexion, a beautiful countenance, with brilliant eyes animated by intelligence, possessing manners which were a charming mixture of simplicity and grace, and conversing in language which would not have discredited a drawing-room or a court. Her own declarations

compelled us to believe, against every pre-conception, that she was a child of this very humble, uneducated family; but nothing which we saw in the house could account for the appearance of her person, mind, or manners. I was ready, as I believe all my companions were, when we left the spot, to believe, that some

> "Flowers are born to blush unseen
> And waste their sweetness on the desert air."

A small church stands near this inn, in the midst of a hamlet, consisting of ten or a dozen houses. Not far from this little collection runs a sprightly mill-stream, an object, which in this region will engage the attention of every traveller.

Smithtown extends about half across the island, and is ten or twelve miles in length from east to west. It is formed almost universally of scattered plantations. The soil, taken together, is, I suspect, inferior to that of no township in this county. It received its name from two families, both named Smith, which first settled in it, and from which a considerable part of its present inhabitants derive their origin. Their number, in the year 1790, was 1,022; in 1800, 1,413; and, in 1810, 1,592.

In this township, near its southern limit, is a pond, having the Indian name of Ronkonkoma, which is said by authority, that cannot be rationally questioned, to rise regularly throughout seven years, and to fall with the same regularity through the following seven. No water, except from subjacent springs, runs into it, or out of it. It abounds with perch. I will not vouch for the truth of the story.

Brookhaven is a township, lying immediately east of Smithtown, extending east and west on the road nineteen miles, and from the north to the south side of the island; a distance varying here from thirteen to eighteen miles.

Setauket, the principal village in this township, is built near the north shore, and, like Smithtown and Huntington, is an ancient settlement. The number of houses within the compass of a square mile may be forty or fifty, thinly dispersed, and, with a few exceptions, old and indifferently repaired. The village contains two churches; a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, both ancient and ordinary; the latter in a ruinous condi-

tion*. The soil is sandy and light, but capable by a judicious cultivation of producing good crops.

Brookhaven contains several other villages and hamlets, beside a number of scattered plantations. In 1790, the number of its inhabitants was 3,224; in 1800, 4,122; and, in 1810, 4,176.

Brookhaven is the largest township on the island.

We lodged at the hospitable house of the Honourable S. Strong, where we spent our time very pleasantly until Thursday morning, being detained by a violent north-east storm, accompanied by a heavy rain. We then rode to a village in the township of Southhold, named Mattatuck, having passed through the remainder of Brookhaven, the township of Riverhead, and a part of Southhold; thirty-six miles.

When you read this, you may not have before you a map of Long-Island. It will not be amiss, therefore, to give you here a general view of its geography.

Long-Island is divided into three counties; King's, on the western point; Queen's, in the middle; and Suffolk, on the east; containing at least two-thirds of the whole island.

King's contained in 1790, 4,495; in 1800, 5,740; and, in 1810, 8,303 inhabitants. Queen's contained in 1790, 16,014; in 1800, 16,893; and, in 1810, 19,336 inhabitants. Suffolk contained in 1790, 16,440; in 1800, 19,464; and, in 1810, 21,113 inhabitants. The island contained in 1790, 36,949; in 1800, 42,097; and, in 1810, 48,752 inhabitants.

Queen's county is about thirty miles in length; Suffolk about one hundred. King's and Queen's counties contain each six townships, and Suffolk nine. Three of these townships, Oysterbay, in Queen's; Huntington, which borders on it; and Brookhaven, extend across the breadth of the island. In Queen's county, Newton, Flushing, and North-Hempstead, lie on the north side, and Jamaica and Hempstead on the south. In Suffolk, Smithtown, Riverhead, and Southhold, are on the north; and Islip, Southampton, and Easthampton, are on the south. Shelter-Island, the remaining township in Suffolk county, lies between the two great eastern arms of Long-Island, to be hereafter described.

* There are now two handsome churches here.—*Pub.*

When you remember, that five townships occupy the whole extent of one hundred miles on the north shore of this island, you will not be surprised to find two of them spreading through a moderate day's journey, nor to be told, that the inhabitants, though considerably numerous on paper, are yet in each township, to a great extent, scattered in a very thin dispersion.

During the first part of this day's journey the country was formed of hills and vallies as before. We passed several hamlets in the township of Brookhaven, called Drowned meadow; the Old man's; Miller's place; and Wading river; partly in Brookhaven, and partly in Riverhead.

At Miller's place, and in several others, the prospect of the Sound and the Connecticut shore is very extensive and attractive.

During the second part of our journey this day, the country was chiefly a plain, occupying almost the whole distance from Wading river, which is fourteen or fifteen miles from Brookhaven, to Southhold, near thirty miles.

The road over this plain is generally excellent. On the soil I shall make some observations hereafter.

Riverhead is the shire town of this county. It was formerly a part of the township of Southhold, and was incorporated in 1792. Its name is derived from Peconic river, the principal stream on the island. This river rises in the middle of the island, and, running from west to east, empties its waters into the great bay in the eastern end, known by several names; by one of which, *viz.* Peconic, I shall denominate it hereafter. The court-house, a poor decayed building, and a miserable hamlet, containing about ten or twelve houses, stand near the efflux of this river.

From this account of the court-house you will naturally suspect, that the business of lawyers and sheriffs is not here in very great demand, nor in very high reputation. The suspicion is certainly well-founded. The county court, or court of common pleas, sits here twice annually; assembles on Tuesday, and, after having finished its whole business, adjourns almost always on the succeeding day.

The court of oyer and terminer sits once in a year. It assembles on Tuesday, at ten o'clock, finishes all its business,

and adjourns almost always on the succeeding day also. In twenty years it has never sat later than till Thursday evening.

No lawyer, if I am not misinformed, has hitherto been able to get a living in the county of Suffolk. I entertain a very respectful opinion of the gentlemen of the bar, but both you and they will cheerfully agree with me in saying, that this exemption from litigation, while it is a peculiar, is also a very honourable characteristic of this county. Not far from this hamlet is a spot of ground about three miles in diameter, which, as I was informed by good authority, is covered with shrub oaks and pines, not more than five or six feet in height. In the whole tract there is not a single tree of the usual size, although it is surrounded by a forest of such trees. The cause of this phenomenon, in a place where the soil is substantially the same with that of the neighbouring country, it is not easy to assign.

Six or eight miles before we arrived at Mattatuck, the country on both sides of the road was chiefly settled in scattered plantations, and the inhabitants appeared generally to be in comfortable circumstances.

Riverhead contained in the year 1800, 1,501 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,711.

Mattatuck is a hamlet in the township of Southhold.

Friday, May 18th, we rode through Southhold to the ferry. Thence we crossed to Shelter-Island, and, passing over it, crossed a second ferry to Hog's Neck, a peninsula, united to Southampton by a long, narrow isthmus of sand, bare only at low water. This isthmus we travelled over, when it was covered by the tide one-fourth of a mile in length, and in different places to the depth of two feet. Then, by a very circuitous course we proceeded to Sagharbour.

The country from Mattatuck to Southhold is almost a perfect level, and the road very good.

Southhold is a more considerable settlement than any other through which we had passed. The houses are generally better, more numerous, and more compactly built. The inhabitants, who are chiefly Presbyterians, have erected a church, which is the principal ornament of their town.

Southhold contains two parishes, the Town and Oyster

ponds. From the town to Oysterponds Point is ten miles; five to the beach, which connects the Point with Long-Island; and five thence to the extremity of the point.

The parish of Oysterponds, which occupies this ground, is only one mile in breadth, but is populous. The land is good, and the people are industrious and thrifty. A considerable number of the inhabitants are fishermen. The agriculture has lately been much improved, but the people suffer not a little from ecclesiastical contentions. It contains a Presbyterian church, and has a settled minister, but there are many sectaries. The houses are about as numerous as in Southhold, and of as good an appearance.

The township of Southhold includes also several islands. Of these the largest is Fisher's Island, lying eight miles south-east of New-London. It is nine miles in length, and contains about four thousand acres. The surface is uneven, and the soil moderately good. It feeds a great number of sheep, with a few neat cattle, and yields a considerable quantity of wool, butter, cheese, and corn. It was originally purchased by his Excellency John Winthrop, Esq., formerly governor of Connecticut, and is now the property of Francis B. Winthrop, Esq., of New-York. South-westward of Fisher's Island are two islets, named the Gull Islands; on the least of which is built a light-house. These stand in a rapid tide, called the Horse-race, by which, had they not a base of solid rock, they would long since have been washed away.

Immediately south-west of these islands, or rather west-south-west, lies Plumb Island, separated from Oysterponds Point by a channel, three-fourths of a mile wide, called Plumb Gut, through which also runs a strong and rapid tide. This island was first purchased by Samuel Wyllys, Esq., of Hartford, about the year 1667, for a barrel of biscuit, and a hundred awls and fish-hooks. The original proprietor was Wyandonse, called by Dr. Trumbull, Wyantanse, one of the principal sachems of Long-Island. Afterward it fell into the hands of a Mr. Beebee, of Plymouth, some of whose descendants are said lately to have had in their possession a manuscript history of the settlement of that colony, now supposed to be lost. This island contains about eight hundred acres of excellent land, and is inhabited by six families. Its waters

abound in fine fish. Anciently it was called the Isle of Patmos; I suppose, from its solitary situation.

There are also two or three islands in Peconic Bay included in this, of which the largest is Robin's Island.

All these islands, except the last, lie in a line, and in the general direction of the north shore of Long-Island in this region, and were very possibly a part of it in distant ages.

In the year 1790, Southhold, then including Riverhead, contained 3,219 inhabitants; in the year 1800, without Riverhead, 2,210; in the year 1810, 2,613.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

General Observations on the Northern Parts of Long-Island, and on the Stones and Sand of which it is composed. Influence of the Gulf Stream in depositing Sand on the Eastern Coast of the United States. Cultivation of Wheat. Account of the Hessian Fly. Forest Trees. Fruit Trees. Improvement in Agriculture. Scarcity of Brooks and Mill-Streams. Fisheries.

DEAR SIR;

IN the summary account, which I have given of this part of our journey, you have undoubtedly concluded, that many particulars were omitted which might have been mentioned with advantage. The truth is, this country is not distinguished, like others through which I have travelled, by a succession of varieties, continually inviting the eye, and furnishing a fund of materials for observation. A general sameness spreads over its face; and in an excursion of twenty or thirty miles a traveller may be said, in a sense, to have seen it all. I have, therefore, chosen to throw together the remarks which occurred to me during this part of my progress.

Long-Island, from Huntington to Southhold, and probably from a considerable distance further westward to Montauk Point, is, like the peninsula of Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a considerable tract in the southern part of Massachusetts, a vast body of fine yellow sand, rising in many instances from one to two, and in some to near three hundred feet above the level of the ocean.

Of the same sand is formed Shelter Island also; and, I presume, most others in this neighbourhood, both within and without Peconic Bay. Of the same material is formed the immense beach, extending everywhere as a barrier against the

ocean, in front of the great bay, which reaches on the south side of the island from Hempstead to Southampton, about eighty miles, and communicates with the Atlantic by a few narrow inlets. Like the beach, formerly described on the eastern shore of Cape Cod, this also is tossed into innumerable wild and fantastical forms. On a multitude of grounds, in different places, the yellow sand, as on Cape Cod, is covered by a thin stratum of white sand, sometimes naked, but generally overspread with a layer of soil; and, as on that peninsula, so here, in Riverhead, Southhold, Easthampton, and Southampton, the sand in several places has been blown away to a considerable depth, leaving a number of small tracts absolutely desolate and useless.

When we commenced our journey on this island, I proposed to my companions to examine, with a continued and minute attention, the stones of every size, which should be visible to us throughout all the parts of our progress. This examination was made by us all with great care, and was extended to the stones on the general surface, to those washed out in hollow roads, to those uncovered on the summits and sides, and at the bottom of hills, to those found in the deepest vallies, and to those which were dug out of a considerable number of very deep wells. The result of this examination was, that all the stones which we saw were, without an exception, destitute of angles, limited by an arched exterior, appearing as if worn by the long-continued attrition of water, and in all respects exactly like those, which in a multitude of places we found on the beach of the ocean. In ten or twelve instances, possibly a few more, we observed small rocks of granite on our road. Every one of these exhibited what I thought plain proofs of having been washed for a considerable length of time, and strongly resembled rocks of the same kind, which have been long beaten by waves. I will not say that no other traveller would have considered these rocks as exceptions; but to my eye they exhibited manifest appearances of having been long worn by water. If this opinion be admitted, we did not find, in a progress of more than two hundred miles, a single stone which did not exhibit proofs of having been washed for a considerable period.

On Montauk Point the stones have a different aspect,

being angular, and wearing the common appearance of the granite rocks so generally found in New-England. After we had passed Jamaica, in our way to New-York, we found a similar change in the stones, most of them being here also angular, and presenting no evidence that they had ever been washed. Between these limits the stones are universally aquatic, if I may be allowed, for the sake of succinctness, to give them this name.

From this extraordinary fact it would seem to be a natural conclusion, that the great body of this island, or perhaps more properly the materials of which it is composed, were at some former period covered by the ocean, and, by a cause which cannot now be discovered, were thrown up into their present form. As there are in it no vestiges of a single volcano, the attribution of its origin to volcanic eruptions must be gratuitous. Were we to admit the existence of such a cause, its operations would in no measure account for the actual phenomena. Nor does it seem reconcilable with facts to suppose, that this mass of earth was thrown up to such a height by any movements of the ocean.

Among the schemes of philosophy, which may be resorted to for the purpose of explaining this point, none appears to promise so much as that of Whitehurst concerning the formation of this globe. This gentleman, as you probably have long since learned, supposes the land and the water to have been originally distributed on the surface of the globe in a very different manner from that which exists at present. The deluge, in his opinion, changed the face of the earth so materially, as in many places to convert that part of the surface, which was originally land, into ocean, and that which was ocean into land. This scheme, to which I see no satisfactory objection, will certainly go far towards explaining the phenomena exhibited by this island. Upon any other within my knowledge, an explanation seems impossible. Plainly no convulsion recorded in history, except the deluge, will account at all for these appearances, nor for innumerable others visible in many parts of both continents. That Long-Island was deeply affected by this great shock of nature is, I think, unquestionable from a variety of facts.

On the eastern border of Hempstead plain, near the middle

of the breadth of the island, some workmen, who were digging a well, found a log of wood, three feet in length and one in diameter, at the depth of one hundred and eight feet below the surface. The exterior was decayed near an inch deep; the rest was perfectly sound. This fact I had from Mr. R. of Fairfield. Mr. R. was on the spot, saw the log, and received the particulars of the story from a plain farmer, who was the proprietor of the well.

In digging a well also at the east end of the same plain, about thirty miles from New-York, and in the middle of the breadth of the island, the greater part of a tree was discovered at the depth of one hundred feet. A part of the wood was put upon the fire, and burnt very well.

In the township of Huntington, about the middle of the breadth of the island also, the neighbouring people were, by some facts at present unknown, induced to believe that there was a silver mine in a particular spot. With the inquisitive spirit, which is usual in such cases, they dug to a considerable depth, and in their progress found a tree with its branches, buried in solid earth thirty feet below the surface. The branches were chiefly decayed.

At Newtown, in Queen's county, a deep pit was sunk in the side of a hill, in the autumn of 1804, for the purpose of forming an ice-house. The hill is about twenty rods from the shore of the Sound, and about fifty feet above high water-mark. When the workmen had proceeded to the depth of twenty feet, they threw out a great number of frogs, lodged in the coarse gravel, of which to that depth the hill was composed. They differed very little from those which are common in this country, except that their colour was a less vivid green. The ground in which they were discovered was the property of General Stevens, of New-York. My informant was his son, Samue Stevens, Esq., of that city. When Mr. Stevens saw the frogs, they had been dug up somewhat more than an hour; and although perfectly torpid at first, had regained all the activity of their species. They were originally thrown from the bottom of the pit upon a scaffold, erected half way down to receive the earth as it was dug by the workmen. Mr. Stevens saw them at the time when, together with the earth, they were

thrown out upon the surface. The warmth which they acquired upon the scaffold renewed their agility.

Clam shells and oyster shells have also been dug up in several places at great depths. An instance was mentioned to me, in which a quantity of marine shells was thrown from a well of considerable depth, by the workmen who were digging it, a short time before I took this excursion. Through inattention I failed to note either the place or the time in my journal.

It has been supposed, that Long-Island was once a part of the continent; and that by the great convulsion which I have mentioned, it was separated from it by the intervention of the Sound. Permit me to make a few observations concerning this subject.

Every person acquainted with the geography of this country knows, that the whole eastern coast of North-America, from Cape Florida to Cape Cod, is formed of sand, almost without a mixture, and wears the general appearance of a vast beach, apparently washed up, at least in part, by the ocean. The beach (appropriately so called), which lines this immense length of coast, and which is known to be formed in this manner, generally differs in nothing, either as to its appearance or its composition, from the country which it borders, when examined at a considerable distance from the sea, except that the former is, and the latter is not, washed by its waves; and that the former is naked, while the latter, having emerged at an earlier period, is covered with trees and shrubs. Sand appears, I think evidently, to be a congeries of multifarious materials brought together, and not an original composition of the particles which form the globe. If this opinion be admitted, we are here presented with a cause apparently sufficient for the accumulation of these particles. That vast basin, which is called the Gulf of Mexico, not improbably was originally land, and in the long progress of years has been scooped out by the united agency of the trade winds and the tides, which heap up the waters of the ocean to an uncommon height in the region between Florida and Terra Firma. The subsidence of this aggregation of waters has always been, and is now produced by that vast, and perhaps singular current, known by the

name of the Gulf Stream; a current compared with which the Amazon is a rivulet. This current, it will be easily believed, directed its course, before the formation of Cape Florida, nearer to the shore of North America than at the present time, and conveyed with it the particles washed from the shores of Terra Firma, Mexico, and Florida, until they were finally deposited. To these particles the strong and frequent easterly winds, agitating the ocean here more beyond comparison than any other, naturally gave a new direction towards the American coast*. By this alluvion, continued through many centuries, were probably heaped up the immense sandy coast already specified, a vast extent of beach separated from the main by intervening arms of the ocean, a multitude of sandy islands lining the coast, and a great number of banks and shoals still lying beneath the waves. All these are composed of the same materials, and extend in a chain, not however uninterrupted (as the operation of tides and other causes would lead us to expect), from Cape Florida to the borders of Newfoundland. From Cape Cod to Cape Florida the whole eastern shore of this continent, except the tract which lies between the Raritan and the harbour of New-Bedford in Massachusetts, is uniformly sandy, light, and lean. If we suppose Staten-Island and Long-Island to have been originally a part of the coast, and to have been continued to Falmouth on the peninsula of Cape Cod (a fact of which the intervening islands give some indications), the eastern shore of this continent will be seen to have been originally of one description.

That this shore has been thus formed to a considerable extent, seems probable from the multitude of marine substances found in different parts of the country near the coast; and some, indeed, at a considerable distance in the interior. Marine shells and marsh mud (the latter an indubitable proof of a long-continued presence of the ocean) have been dug up in various places at the depth of twenty, thirty, and even fifty feet†. You will understand, that it is the margin only of this

* If any person will cast his eye on a map of Asia, he may perhaps satisfy himself without much difficulty, that similar ravages have been accomplished by the same causes from the eastern coast of New-Holland to Behring's Straits, which separate America from Asia.

† Professor Kalm, who came to America from Sweden in the year 1748,

country, which I here suppose to have been formed in this manner; and even that must have been greatly increased in its height by the alluvion, for several thousand years, of earth from the interior hills and mountains.

That Long-Island was once united with the main, towards its western end, has been believed by a great multitude of persons, from a bare inspection of the scenery. The narrowness and winding of the straits in many places; the multitude of intervening rocks and islands; the projection and course of the points between this island and the counties of New-York and West-Chester, and the general aspect of both shores, have

received from his countrymen, who at an early period formed settlements in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, the following information.

One of them, whose name was King, told him that a relation of his, who lived about eight miles from the Delaware, on a hill near a rivulet, found at the depth of forty feet, while digging a well in his court-yard, a quantity of oyster and muscle shells, a great quantity of reed, and pieces of broken branches.

Peter Rambo, near sixty years of age, assured him, that in a number of places he had seen great quantities of muscle shells and other marine animals dug up at considerable depths; logs of wood found at the depth of twenty feet, some petrified, and others apparently burnt; and bricks very deep in the ground.

Maonskeen, above seventy years old, asserted, that, on digging a well, he had seen, at the depth of forty feet, a great piece of chesnut wood, together with roots and stalks of reed, and a clayey earth like that which commonly covers the shores of salt-water bays. This clay had a similar smell and the same taste. He and others also knew, that at a great depth a trowel, such as the Indians use, had been found.

In various other instances, wood, oyster shells, clam shells, branches of trees, blocks of wood, and Indian trowels were dug up, from twenty to thirty feet deep; and in one instance a whole bundle of flax was brought up from a depth of between twenty and thirty feet, as little damaged as if it had been lately put under ground. Professor Kalm conjectures, that it is what is called the wild Virginian flax. But, whatever it was, it was tied together in a bundle.

Raccoon, the place where these several things were dug up, is more than 120 English miles from the sea-shore.

To these facts I will add another, communicated to me by General Dearing.

Anthony Sherman, digging a well for Mr. Roderick Havens, on Shelter Island, in the year 1808, found, at the depth of fifty-seven feet below the common surface, an Indian pestle, beach gravel, like that on the sea beach of the island, and a multitude of clam shells.

produced this opinion, in minds, which have been formed to very different modes of thinking. That it has not been generally united to the opposite main since the deluge is unanswerably evident, because there are no traces of any channels, worn by the rivers which lie westward of the Connecticut, particularly the Hooestennuc.

The surface of Long-Island, along the north shore, is from Wading river to the western point a continual interchange of hills, vallies, and plains; but without any distinguished specimens of the beauty, which might naturally be expected from such a variety of surface. Throughout the whole extent there is nothing which approaches towards the appearance of a mountain; nothing bold and masculine, and, except in a few of the necks, or points, nothing particularly soft and elegant. From Wading river, eastward, the country is almost an absolute level.

The soil on the north side has but two considerable varieties. It is either the thin mould, already mentioned as covering the layer of white sand, and of no great value; or a loam of a yellowish brown, spread from the depth of one to perhaps three or four feet, mixed with an abundance of gravel, and by a skilful husbandry capable of being rendered eminently productive. It is not, however, friendly to grass. We travelled through this country in the month of May, when New-England is universally covered with a fresh and glowing verdure, promising by its brilliancy the future luxuriance of the pastures and meadows. Here, with a small number of exceptions, chiefly in Huntington and Brookhaven, the natural verdure was faint and bluish, indicating that the soil, whence it sprang, was unfavourable, and the cultivation imperfect. The meadows, created by the plough, yielded a considerable growth of clover and herdsgrass.

To wheat the best soils of this island are peculiarly suited. In favourable years they have often yielded, with a good dressing of manure, particularly of white fish, from thirty to forty bushels an acre. To maize they are less congenial. This, however, I learned from information; the season not being far enough advanced to enable me to judge from inspection.

Flax has heretofore been cultivated with success; but for

two years past the crop has failed. A black rust has settled, in spots, on the rind or coat; eaten it through, and destroyed its texture. Happily this evil, unknown till within this period, is already decreasing.

The Hessian fly has, some years, seriously injured the wheat; but generally has done little mischief.

So far as I have been able to learn, this insect, so insignificant in its appearance, and yet so important by its ravages on the labours and happiness of mankind, was first found in a field of wheat, on or near the Hessian encampment in the neighbourhood of Brooklyn, and opposite to the city of New-York. This was in the year 1784. Thence it spread, at the rate of about twenty miles a year, through most parts of the northern and middle states; faster with, and slower against, the south-west wind. So many descriptions of this insect have been given to the public, that a minute account of it must be unnecessary here. It will be sufficient to observe, that its form, as an eruca, is that of a small, white maggot; that its enclosure, when a chrysalis, is hard, firm, nearly cylindrical, of the colour of flax seed, and scarcely one-fourth of an inch in length; and that, when a fly, it is less than a gnat, like that insect in figure, and of a dark cream colour. Its eggs are laid in the autumn, immediately above the first joint of the wheat; in the spring, above the second; and, in the summer, above the third. When this nidus is not attainable, it betakes itself to other vegetables, and, it should seem, of many kinds, for the same purpose. The maggot perforates the stalk of the wheat, cuts off the interior rind, together with the principal part of the vessels, and lives upon the juice, which would otherwise supply nutriment to the ear. Wheat is its favourite food. Its greatest ravages are accomplished in the autumn, when for want of wheat it will sometimes destroy rye and barley. The yellow-bearded wheat, having in the exposed joints a stalk nearly solid, is more secure than any other kind against this enemy; but yields less; is more exposed to the injuries of winter and spring, and, when made into bread, becomes dry much sooner than the bald wheat. Upon ground, also, which has been manured with ashes, as the wheat grows more gradually and with a firmer stalk, it is less exposed than when sown after a dressing from the stable. When it is sown late

in the season, it commonly escapes the ravages of the fly in the autumn, and, unless destroyed by the frosts in February and March, may with a good degree of probability be expected to yield a crop. But, notwithstanding these and all other remedial efforts, the mischief, which it accomplishes, is prodigious. Twenty years since, I was informed by a merchant in West-Greenwich, whose business gave him the best opportunities of knowing, that the inhabitants of that parish, before the arrival of the fly, used to export, annually, 10,000 bushels of wheat; but were then obliged to import 3,000. Where grass, or maize, does not furnish the farmer a substitute, the evil is still greater. In Connecticut, the cultivation of wheat has for more than twenty years been in a great measure discontinued*.

Nothing can more strongly exhibit the dependence, or the littleness of man, than the destruction of his valuable interests by such minute, helpless beings; nor can any thing more forcibly display the ease with which his Maker punishes his transgressions. The animals, which from our infancy we regard with terror, are the fierce and voracious inhabitants of the desert: the serpent, the rhinoceros, the catamount, the tiger, and the lion. But these, mercifully on the part of Heaven, are few in number, solitary in their life, and unfrequent invaders of human happiness: sources, rather of solemn amusement, and fireside affright, than of rational, or even real anxiety. The great army which God sent upon the Jews, before which the land was as the garden of Eden, and behind as a desolate wilderness, on account of which an alarm was sounded, a fast sanctified, and a solemn assembly proclaimed, was levied from the race of the canker-worm, the caterpillar, the palmer-worm, and the locust. These, and their compeers, have in every age been the army of God, which has humbled the pride, frustrated the designs, and annihilated the hopes of man. The Hessian fly, as I observed, is less than a gnat, and, when settled in its usual manner on the ground, is commonly invisible; being seen only as it rises in small clouds immediately before your steps. It is feeble and helpless, also, in the extreme; defenceless against the least enemy, and

* 1804.

crushed by the most delicate touch. Yet for many years it has taxed this country annually, more, perhaps, than a million of dollars.

Most insects, which in this country have been seriously mischievous, are generally believed to appear and disappear at regular periods; at least most of those, which disturb the labours of mankind. This has been in the United States twenty-seven years, and will probable continue here as long as it can find sustenance. Hitherto its progress has resembled that of men. Its numbers have been multiplied or diminished as the means of its subsistence have been palatable and abundant, or disagreeable and scarce. In the tracts, which are far from the coast, both in New-England and New-York, it has, however, been less numerous and less mischievous than in those, which are near the ocean. This, not improbably, is owing to the length and severity of the winter. The canker-worm has never made any considerable depredations at the distance of more than forty or fifty miles from the shore; although it has existed in this country more than one hundred and fifty years.

A great part of this island is still forested. Formerly, four-fifths of the county of Suffolk were considered as barrens, *i. e.* not literally, but tracts of poor land; left to nature, and regarded as incapable of useful cultivation. A considerable part of these tracts is now devoted to agriculture. Still a great portion of the county is a mere wood: so great a proportion, that the city of New-York, and many other places, are to a considerable extent furnished with fuel from this source. One half, at least, of these forests, as I judged, is yellow pine: the rest is made up of oak, chesnut, hickory, &c. The trees of every kind are low and small, compared with those of New-England. I should estimate them at a medium between the common New-England forests, and the largest on the peninsula of Cape Cod. Until they have grown about thirty-feet, they appear thrifty; but afterwards, though increasing considerably in height, and somewhat in bulk, are stinted; indicating the want of sufficient nourishment to continue their growth. From Huntington, throughout our circuit to Brooklyn, not a single large tree was visible from the road.

Fruit trees abound everywhere on the north side of the

island, particularly those which belong to the garden. The houses in great multitudes are encompassed by them; and vast numbers stand in the highways. No land in the United States appears to suit them better. Nowhere do they more generally, or in greater abundance, yield fruit of an excellent quality: nor are they anywhere less injured by frost, or exposed to fewer enemies. The tree yielding the Madeira nut succeeds better here than on the opposite shore of Connecticut. Of these advantages the inhabitants have availed themselves in a commendable manner.

Their agriculture has within a few years been greatly improved. For a considerable period before the fifteen years preceding the date of this journey, the land had become generally impoverished by a careless husbandry, in which the soil was only exhausted, and no attempts were made to renew its strength. The usual consequences of this culture (but too common on the continent as well as here), such as miserable crops, discouragement, and listlessness, on the part of the farmer, prevailed everywhere. Within this period the inhabitants, with a laudable spirit of enterprise, have set themselves to collect manure wherever it could be obtained. Not content with what they could make and find on their own farms and shores, they have sent their vessels up the Hudson, and loaded them with the residuum of potash manufactories; gleaned the streets of New-York; and have imported various kinds of manure from New-Haven, New-London, and even from Hartford. In addition to all this, they have swept the Sound; and covered their fields with the immense shoals of white-fish, with which in the beginning of summer its waters are replenished. No manure is so cheap as this where the fish abound, none is so rich, and few are so lasting. Its effects on vegetation are prodigious. Lands, which heretofore have scarcely yielded ten bushels of wheat by the acre, are said, when dressed with white-fish, to have yielded forty. The number caught is almost incredible. It is here said, and that by persons of very fair reputation, that 150,000 have been taken at a single draught. Such, upon the whole, have been their numbers, and such the ease, with which they have been obtained, that lands in the neighbourhood of productive fishe-

ries are declared to have risen within a few years to three, four, and in some cases to six times their former value.

You will easily believe, that the fœtor, of which I complained in a former Letter, was at least equally troublesome here. Wherever the fish was gathered in considerable quantities near the road, their effluvia filled the atmosphere, and made our journey sufficiently unpleasant. The farmers, however, by the force of habit and the prospect of gain, are reconciled to this odour. Indeed many of them must, I think, be insensible to it, for they feed their swine in the near neighbourhood of their houses, and some of them directly before their doors, with the fish called horse-feet; the remains of which yield a smell still less supportable.

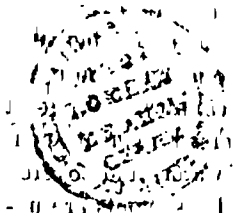
Among the serious disadvantages, under which the inhabitants of the tract already described labour, the want of water is the greatest. At the time when we passed through it, streams of every size are usually full. Yet we saw, if I remember right, during the first twenty-four miles of our journey, but one small brook, which is in Huntington, and the mill-stream, mentioned above in the account of Smithtown. In Setauket, however, we found three small brooks. Between this village and Southhold, a distance of more than forty miles, we crossed but one, *viz.* Wading river: an insignificant rill, from two to perhaps six feet in breadth. The want of mill-streams obliges the inhabitants to have recourse to windmills; which are erected in all these settlements, except the hamlet, through which we passed in Smithtown. The want of brooks to water their cattle, forces them in many instances to dig basins in the earth, near their houses. During the wet seasons these excavations furnish them with a tolerable supply; but the water is often muddy and bad. In rare cases this want is relieved by ponds; but even these have their inconveniences, particularly during the hot season, when they become corrupted and unhealthy. Their wells also must commonly be dug to a great depth, before they will yield a sufficient quantity of water. A traveller accustomed to the wells, brooks, and mill-streams of New-England is apt to wonder in what manner these people can live comfortably, under this embarrassment.

The best lands on both sides of the island are, with some exceptions, the points; or, as they are sometimes termed, the necks. They have usually a stronger soil, and are often enriched by a variety of marine shells, deposited here through a long succession of ages by the Indians, converted with a gradual decay into valuable manure, and thus supplying the nutriment drawn off by vegetation. Not unfrequently also are these lands furnished with springs, which break out on the shore, both above and below the high water mark, and with tide mills erected on the inlets in their neighbourhood.

The small breadth of this island, and its numerous inlets, accommodate the inhabitants, almost everywhere, with a harbour near to their doors, and enable them to convey their produce to market with little expense. In the ocean, also, they find on both sides a considerable portion of their food, and materials for half of their commerce. Fish, of most kinds found in this climate, abound in the waters of this island. Within a few years, however, oysters have in several places greatly decayed; particularly at Blue Point, in the south-western part of Brookhaven. The oyster beds at this place were not long since supposed to be inexhaustible; and supplied, not only the inhabitants of Long-Island, but the inhabitants of New-York, the county of Westchester, and the south shore of New-England, with immense quantities of this valuable fish. Now they have become lean, watery, and sickly, and have declined still more in their numbers than in their quality. Formerly they were large and well flavoured, now they are scarcely eatable; and, what is worse, there is reason to fear, that they will soon become extinct.

Bass are caught in vast numbers along the shore.

I am, Sir, &c.



LETTER III.

Shelter Island. Sagg Harbour. The Peninsula of Montauk. Indians who inhabit it. Light House. East-Hampton. Manners of the Inhabitants. Honourable Efforts of the People to maintain the Government of Law and to discountenance Vice. Settled from New-England. Suffolk County. Gardiner's Island. Bridghampton. Southampton. Canoe Place. Westhampton. The Fireplace.

DEAR SIR;

THE ferry from Southhold to Shelter-Island is attended with the inconveniences usual in places where there is too little travelling to defray the expense of good accommodations. We found neither wharf, nor ferry-stairs, on either side. The shore was a gradual slope. We were, therefore, obliged to ride to the boat, and with much difficulty to force our horses into it by leading them over the gunwale. The boat itself was inconvenient, and was managed by a single man. The breadth of the ferry is three-fourths of a mile. To make us amends for these troubles, the weather was perfectly serene and pleasant; and we crossed the strait without any accident.

Shelter-Island lies in Peconic bay, at about an equal distance from Southhold and Hog's Neck; and, with that peninsula, renders the bay a secure harbour for vessels, not drawing more than four fathom. The passages on both sides are perfectly safe. There is, however, little reason to believe, that this bay can ever be much used as an anchoring ground, unless by the ships of an enemy. In the revolutionary war it was frequently occupied by the British shipping.

The Indian name of this island was Manhansack-Ahaquatauwomeck; signifying an island sheltered by other islands. Its present name, intentionally a translation of the

original one, ought to be Sheltered Island. It is about seven miles in length from north to south, about five in breadth, and not far from thirty in circumference. Its area is between eight and nine thousand acres. Its surface is much more undulating than that of the neighbouring country. A great number of small hollow grounds are dispersed over it, containing, usually, a considerable quantity of water, and covered with a thick growth of swamp shrubs. These spots are unsightly, and, indeed, offensive to the eye: but they furnish the farmer with the great convenience of water for his cattle. There is not, I believe, a spring on this island above high water mark. The forest growth, which consists of oak, chesnut, &c., is thinly planted, and chiefly without underwood. The British cut down a great part of the wood during the revolutionary war, and thus greatly lessened the value of the lands. Three thousand cords were taken from the estate of Thomas Dering, Esq., a man of such excellence of character, as would, if any thing could, have disarmed the spirit of plunder.

"The soil is lighter and thinner than that of the good lands on Long-Island. Yet in a field, belonging to General Dering, it yielded, under a skilful husbandry, between thirty-nine and forty bushels of wheat an acre, the year preceding the date of this journey. Exclusive of grass, for the growth of which it is rather too dry, it seems well fitted for all the productions of the climate. To sheep it is peculiarly suited: the sweet feed, which it yields, being remarkably grateful to that animal, and the snow lying, ordinarily, so short a time, as very little to interrupt the pasturing of cattle. The wool of the Shelter Island flocks is thought inferior to none in this country.

The property of this island is principally in the three families of Dering, Haven, and Nicoll. It was incorporated in 1788; and, in 1790, contained 201 inhabitants; in 1800, 260; and, in 1810, 270.

To the credit of the inhabitants, especially of the principal proprietors, it ought to be observed, that they have customarily made considerable exertions to support schools, and to obtain the preaching of the Gospel.

"Two of our company left us here, and proceeded imme-

diately over Hog's Neck to Sagg Harbour, and thence to East-Hampton. We went a considerable part of the day at the house of General Dering. In the afternoon this gentleman politely accompanied us to the ferry; and assisted us not a little to obtain a comfortable passage. The wind being boisterous, we sent our horses over first, and followed them without accident, although not without disagreeable apprehensions. We then found our way, with some difficulty, over Hog's Neck; and proceeded, unpleasantly enough, through the waters, which overflowed the long, narrow, and winding isthmus, connecting this peninsula with Southampton. Thence we had a circuitous, solitary, and tedious ride to Sagg Harbour; where the hospitality of Mr. D. amply compensated us for the troubles of the journey.

Sagg Harbour is a pretty village, lying partly within the township of Southampton, and partly in that of East-Hampton. It is situated on a mere mass of sand. The harbour, which is excellent, and the only good one for a great distance on the eastern end of the island, allured the inhabitants to this unpleasant ground; not unpleasant from the want of prospect, but because it furnishes unpleasant streets and walks, and is unfriendly to every kind of vegetation. The village contained at this time about 120 houses; the principal part of which are on a winding street, terminating at the shore; the rest, on some other streets of less consequence. Many of the houses, out-houses, and fences, are new and neat: and an appearance of thrift, elsewhere unknown in this part of the island, is spread over the whole village. Several of the inhabitants have acquired considerable wealth by commerce and fishing: both of which have been regularly increasing since the revolutionary war. When we were on the spot there were three, and there are now (1811) six ships, employed in the whale fishery on the coast of Brazil; each of which is supposed, on an average, to return annually with one thousand barrels of oil. The other vessels, owned here, may amount to fifty. Mechanical business is also done here to a considerable extent. Ship building, particularly, is carried on with skill, spirit, and success. There is a printing office in this village; the only one on the island, except at Brooklyn. The inhabitants have a small Presbyterian church; old, and of design ill-repaired: a

much larger one being necessary to accommodate their increasing population*.

Sagg Harbour is now, and probably will continue to be, the most considerable village in the eastern part of Long-Island. The number of inhabitants at the date of our journey was about 850; in 1810, they amounted to 1,168.

We left Sagg Harbour, Saturday morning, May 19th, and rode to East-Hampton. Our journey lay on a sandy, solitary plain, covered with oaks and yellow pines, through which flowed a small brook or two, the first seen by us in travelling sixty miles. In the neighbourhood of East-Hampton we passed by a considerable field, blown in the same manner, although in a less degree, as those formerly described on the peninsula of Cape Cod. Here also I saw, for the first time since I left that peninsula, the beach grass, the extraordinary and the only preventive of that misfortune.

When we arrived we found that our companions had gone to Montauk Point. After dinner we followed them, in company with the Rev. Mr. B——, the minister of East-Hampton, as far as the beach, which unites the peninsula of Montauk to Long-Island. Here my remaining companion left me to visit the point. Mr. B—— and myself in the mean time examined the fantastical scenery presented by this spot. The beach has been thrown up by the conspiring force of winds and waves, in the same manner as those which are annexed to the peninsula of Cape Cod, but is far less wild and magnificent. This tract was, however, once a plain of firm ground, but occasionally overflowed. Mr. Benjamin Hodges, now† living on Montauk, at the age of ninety-six years, remembers this fact. It is named Niepeag, "Niep," water; "eag," land‡.

This peninsula is nine miles in length, and generally from two to three in breadth. Its surface is uneven, nowhere in the proper sense forested, but ornamented in several places by groves and scattered trees. The soil is a mixture of loam and gravel, yielding short, sweet grass, and furnishing good beef and mutton. With a few small exceptions, it is owned by the

* A large and handsome church has since been erected.—*Pub.*

† 1811. ‡ John L. Gardener, Esq.

citizens of East-Hampton, being a vast commor within that township, on which the cattle of the inhabitants are fed promiscuously during the mild season. The number of proprietors is about one hundred and twenty.

A few years since, a large pond of fresh water, about five miles from the point, was broken in upon by the ocean, and from that time has been replenished with oysters of a good size and flavour. These are principally caught by some Indians, the remains of the Montauk tribe, who live near the pond, and sell them for corn, cider, and other commodities.

The Montauk Indians are a branch of the Mohekaneews, as is proved decisively by their language. I have not been able to ascertain their number, but it is very small. Like those mentioned in the account of Stonington, and all others residing among the English, they have lost the proud and warlike spirit of their ancestors, and assumed in its stead a tame, stupid character. The amount of all their aims is to acquire the bare necessaries of life, and to doze away their remaining time in that sluggish inactivity, which is the middle stage between intellectual and animal existence. A few of them are employed in fishing, and, when at sea, are said to perform their duty well; but as soon as they have returned and received their wages, they become mere Indians again, expending their hard earnings chiefly for rum, the only enjoyment which they appear to covet.

There are four or five English families on this peninsula. These, unfortunately, are from two to three miles apart, so that each house is a hermitage. One of them has the care of the light-house, a structure eighty feet in height, standing in an elevated situation on the point, distinguished soon after the colonization of this country as a landmark of the first importance. Perhaps no building of this useful kind was ever erected on this side of the Atlantic in a spot where it was more necessary for the preservation of man.

About twelve hundred acres of this peninsula are still in the possession of the Indians. The fee of the land is not theirs, but they hold it partly by lease and partly by permission. It is a remarkable fact, that a number of words in their language are the same with the corresponding words in the language of

a tribe, discovered by Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, between three and four hundred miles from the Pacific Ocean*.

It is also remarkable, that none of the stones on the surface of the peninsula, except those which are now within the reach of the waves, show any marks of having been washed by the ocean.

Between the beach and the town of East-Hampton, the land is generally undulating, moderately good, settled, and under culture.

The town of East-Hampton is built principally on a single street, running very nearly from north-east to south-west. Its site is a perfect level. It is compactly built, and contains an ancient Presbyterian church, an academy, and about one hundred dwelling-houses. The academy is resorted to by a considerable number of students, and, with a little more spirit and enterprise on the part of the people, might be rendered extensively useful. The houses are generally of long standing. I saw but a single new one, and that was erected where another had been lately pulled down. Scarcely any of them are painted. In other respects they are generally in a tolerable state of repair. The passion for appearance, so far at least as building is concerned, seems hitherto to have fastened very little on the inhabitants of East-Hampton. A general air of equality, simplicity, and quiet, is visible here in a degree perhaps singular. Sequestered in a great measure from the world, they exhibit scarcely a trace of that activity which everywhere meets the eye in New-England. There is, however, no want of the social character; but it is regulated rather by the long-continued customs of this single spot, than by the mutable fashions of a great city, or the powerful influence of an extensive country, intimately connected in all its parts, and controlling, by the general opinion and practice, the personal conduct of every inhabitant. Living by themselves more than the people of most other places, they become more attentive to whatever is their own, and less to the concerns of others. Hence their own customs, especially those which have come down from their ancestors (and these are almost all that exist among them), have a commanding influence on their conduct.

* John L. Gardener, Esq.

Removed to a great distance from most of their countrymen, reports may be easily raised, and for a long time circulated among them, without any contradiction, if a few individuals, who may be regarded as the travelling members of their community, should happen to unite in the wish to keep them alive. Thus the character of a person, even in the most public life, if living at a distance, may by such individuals, for an indefinite period, be completely inverted. If a villain, he may pass for a man of worth; if a man of worth, for a villain. Thus, also, any event, or any conduct, may be misstated and misbelieved, and often without a remedy. I have rarely been struck with so much surprise as at finding the strange and mistaken apprehensions of some discreet and worthy people in this town, concerning several individuals of distinction in their own state; men, whom I perfectly knew, and with some of whom I had been long and intimately acquainted.

You are not, from these things, to suppose the inhabitants of East-Hampton to be in an uncommon degree either injudicious or ignorant. They are as respectable for their understanding, and in other things as well informed, read as much, and converse as well as most of their countrymen. But their insular and remote situation precludes them from the means, either of acquiring sound information, or detecting that which is false, concerning persons and facts existing in different parts of their country. Hence, as in the same circumstances all other people would be, they are exposed to misjudge, because their confidence can be, and often is, abused; while the detection of the abuse is beyond their power. In truth, they are better acquainted with many subjects, deeply interesting to man, than most of their countrymen.

Their moral and religious character also are much above the common level. By this I do not intend, that they are free from loose and profligate manners; but that the town contains a larger number of virtuous citizens, that morality and religion hold a higher place in the public estimation, and that transgressions of their dictates are felt by men of any reputation to be more dangerous, than in most other places.

As a proof of the justness of this opinion it may be observed, that a society has been voluntarily established here for the express purpose of strengthening magistrates in the prevention

and punishment of petty crimes, exposing all licentiousness, and promoting every kind of virtuous conduct. The measures of this society, in which all or nearly all the respectable inhabitants of the town are united, have, in an eminent degree, been harmonious, useful, and happy. They have not merely formed a constitution; assembled, deliberated, and resolved; according to the spiritless and useless examples of too many such societies; but have executed their resolutions in a manner highly honourable to their character. Vice has been really discouraged, virtue really strengthened; and the execution of law, in those inferior cases in which it is but too frequently unexecuted, and which thus lay the foundation of no small part of human degeneracy, really promoted. At the same time, while their measures have been firm and energetic, they have been cautious and prudent. Their prudence has ensured them success, and their success has invigorated their energy. May the blessing of Heaven rest upon all who are engaged in this excellent design, and upon every justifiable effort for its accomplishment.

Equally honourable to these people are their industry and frugality, their exemplary behaviour at church, their spirit of good neighbourhood, their mutual decency and respect, and the interest which they take in the enjoyments and sufferings of each other. I need not say, that they have their faults; but I can say truly, I wish that the inhabitants of this country, generally, had as few.

These observations are extensively applicable, with some qualifications, to the county of Suffolk at large.

I have already observed, that this county was originally settled from New-England. A considerable number of the colonists came from Lynn, and others, probably, from some of the other towns in the neighbourhood of Boston. These planted themselves near the western end of the island. The Dutch, who had already begun some small plantations in that quarter, quarrelled with them, and finally drove them away. They then removed to Southampton, and stationed themselves without molestation. Here they were joined by other emigrants from the same colony.

In the year 1640, the colony of New-Haven purchased and settled Southhold, the Indian Yennycock. The same

year, the colony of Connecticut purchased a tract, containing a great part of the townships of Oyster Bay and North Hempstead, and placed on it a considerable number of settlers. All these settlements were from the beginning claimed by the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven. Southampton sent representatives to the general assembly of Connecticut twenty years; from 1644 to 1664. In 1663, the plantations in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements sent a petition to the legislature of Connecticut, praying to be taken under their jurisdiction. The legislature voted, that they would "use such just and lawful means as God should put into their hands for the indemnity and safety of these plantations, until his majesty should make known his royal pleasure on this subject." In the year 1664, the Dutch surrendered New-York to Colonel Nichols, and Long-Island was thenceforth annexed to that province. The inhabitants of Suffolk county, however, have always been, and now are, in every other respect New-England people. Descended from one source, they have to this day sustained one character. From their neighbours in the two western counties they are distinguished by their names, their pronunciation, their manners, their attachment to the education of their children, their intelligence, their morals, and their religion. All these are of New-England origin. The very manners, which I distinctly remember to have been, forty years since, the prevailing manners of such places and people as I visited at that time, and better and happier in many respects than those which have been substituted for them, are now the manners of a great part of this county. The insular situation of the inhabitants, while it has precluded them from many motives to improvement, has also preserved them from many sources of corruption. Their houses and churches are less tidy and beautiful; but their minds are more susceptible of religious impressions, and their lives less stained by vice.

The old New-England hospitality, which welcomed a guest, because he was a stranger, a neighbour, or a friend, and not because it coveted an opportunity of displaying wealth and taste, or acquiring admiration, prevails generally throughout this county. A traveller is received with an air of frankness and good-will which he cannot distrust, and which endears his

entertainment much more than manners however polished, or accommodations however convenient. He feels that he has been received not only with civility, but with kindness; and leaves the house of his host with affection.

In passing through this county, a traveller is forcibly struck with a sense of stillness and sequestration from the world. Every place seems to him a retirement. Noise and bustle clamour at such a distance that the din is not heard. Profound contemplation and playfulness of mind scarcely meet with an interruption. Every thing indicates and cherishes repose; and he will hardly believe that disorder and disturbance, of any kind, can here intrude upon the peace of man.

A gum tree, of the kind which is here called the Balm of Gilead, or the black poplar, is now growing before the house of Mr. William Hunting, of this town. The stem was a branch wafted upon the south shore by the ocean. There it was found by a member of Mr. Hunting's family, and set out where it now stands.

Gardiner's Island, or the Isle of Wight, lies across the mouth of Peconic Bay, between Plumb Island and Montauk; and is about seven miles in length and one in breadth, containing not far from three thousand acres. The soil is excellent, and yields, very plentifully, wheat, maize, and grass, and furnishes excellent beef and mutton, cheese and wool. It was purchased originally by Lyon Gardiner, Esquire, who commanded the fort at Saybrook several years, and was also granted to him by James Torrett, the British nominal proprietor of the whole island. Mr. Gardiner began a settlement here in 1639; the first British settlement within the state of New-York. From this original proprietor it has descended regularly in his family to the present owner, John Lyon Gardiner, Esquire. Until lately it was an entailed estate, now it is holden in fee simple. Its Indian name was Munshongonuc, and signified, a place where a multitude of Indians had died: like the character given of Carthagena, when it is styled, "the grave of Europeans."

It is believed here, and generally along the southern shore of the island, that fruit trees cannot be cultivated with success when they are exposed to the sea winds. That these winds blow here with great strength and are very damp is certain;

but that they destroy or prevent the growth of fruit trees, particularly apple trees and pear trees, is questionable. On the land of the Rev. Mr. B., at East-Hampton, I saw a considerable number of young trees, which were very flourishing. I saw also several orchards, in places entirely open to these winds, which were well grown and prosperous, and some of them in full blossom. It may, therefore, be concluded, that this opinion has been hastily taken up. Yet so extensively has it been adopted, that there are few orchards, and very few fruit trees of any kind in this township, or Southampton; and indeed very few for sixty or seventy miles along the shore.

East-Hampton is uncommonly healthy, as is evident from the number of old people which it contains. Notwithstanding the frequency, dampness, and strength of the sea winds, the inhabitants appear to be liable in no peculiar degree to any particular disease, except the hypochondria. This evil is said to be unusually frequent here, at Bridghampton, and at Southampton. What is called land air, can hardly be said to be breathed at all at East-Hampton; and the people are healthy, from the same cause which produces the health of seamen.

East-Hampton contained, in 1790, 1,497 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,549; in 1810, 1,484.

On Monday, May 21st, we left our friends in East-Hampton, and rode through Bridghampton and Southampton to West-Hampton; twenty-six miles.

Bridghampton is a parish of Southampton. Its surface is agreeably undulating, the soil better or better cultivated than any tract of the same extent on our journey, and the houses are in more instances neat in their appearance. We saw no village in this parish.

There has lately been a considerable revival of religion, both here and in East-Hampton.

Southampton is said to have been formerly a flourishing settlement; the whaling business having been vigorously pursued, and become a source of wealth to the inhabitants. At present it wears the aspect of decline. Some of the houses are better than any in East-Hampton, but the general appearance is less agreeable and prosperous. The town is not so

compactly built, and the inhabitants are said to be less industrious.

The soil of Southampton is more sandy and light than most of that through which we had travelled.

Southampton contained, in 1790, 3,408 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,690; and, in 1810, 3,899. This increase is probably all found in the village of Sagg Harbour.

From Southampton, to what is here called "the Canoe-place," about four miles, the country is a succession of disagreeable sand-hills; a considerable part of which are blown, like the grounds formerly mentioned in the description of Cape Cod, and exhibit a desolate and melancholy aspect. These hills were once cultivated; but, from the poverty of the soil and the ravages of the wind, appear to have been finally forsaken*.

From the Canoe-place, where there are two or three indifferent houses, to West-Hampton, the country is a mere forest, chiefly of yellow pines. The surface is a plain, the soil a lean sand, the trees are small and unthrifty, and the road is difficult and tedious. In this part of our journey we met with nothing that was agreeable, except the solemn roar of the ocean, the prospect of the great bay already mentioned, the magnificent beach by which it is bounded, and the immeasurable waters lying beyond it. These objects, occurring in several instances, through vistas opened in the forest, were highly sublime; and, amid our otherwise unvaried scenery, peculiarly delightful.

West-Hampton is a parish of Southampton, and a scattered settlement. It is here commonly designated by the dismal Indian name, Catchebonnuc; properly the name of a point of land within its limits. To complete the list of unfortunate titles of this abused place, two hamlets belonging to it are termed Quaug, or Speeunk. Yet here, on a point of land south of the road, we found good accommodations obligingly furnished at an inn, kept by a Mr. Howell.

The next morning, the 22d, we left West-Hampton, and

* Since the date of this journey I have been informed, that the remains of a tribe of Indians, called the Shinnakaughs, are the proprietors of these lands; and that some of them still undergo Indian cultivation.

rode to Douglas's, in Islip, through the remaining part of Southampton, a part of Brookhaven, and a part of Islip, thirty-six miles. We dined at Carman's, in what is called the Fire-place, in Brookhaven, and fared comfortably; but were obliged to lodge at a miserable house, half in ruins, kept by very poor and very ignorant people, the inn at which we intended to lodge having been pre-occupied by some sportsmen from New-York who had come hither to catch trout.

The country from Howell's to the Fire-place is a continuation of the same plain, almost wholly forested; less sandy, less covered with pines, and more productive of oaks. The road also, being on a firmer surface, was generally better; but, in some instances, was still sandy and tedious. The settlements, though few, were more numerous; and, together with several fields of wheat growing vigorously on the borders of our road, varied the generally dull scenery of this region. The preceding day we had crossed a few rivulets, this day we found a greater number, and among them several fine sprightly mill-streams. One of these, which runs by Carman's, is named Connecticut river; the largest, after Peconic, in the island, and replenished with fine trout. From this spot the road became still firmer, the forests more and more composed of oaks, the wheat-fields more numerous and flourishing, the settlements, though thinly scattered, more frequent, and the country universally more pleasant. While we were at Douglas's, a thunderstorm passed over us, and the rain distilled plentifully through the roof and sides of our shelter. Part of our company were disagreeably sprinkled while in bed, but experienced no distressing consequences from the wetting. Our horses, which passed the night without any other hay than sedge, had more reason to complain than ourselves.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Islip. Hempstead Plain. Grouse Plain. Huntington. Oyster Bay. Hempstead. North-Hempstead. Flushing. Mr. Prince's Fruit-Yard. Jamaica. Ride from Jamaica to Brooklyn. Vegetation on different Parts of the Island affected by the prevailing Winds. Bushwick.

DEAR SIR;

WEDNESDAY morning, May 23d, we pursued our journey through the remainder of Islip, through Huntington, Oyster bay, Hempstead, and a part of Jamaica: thirty-eight miles.

The country on this day's journey, until we came to the border of Hempstead plain, generally resembled that which was last described; but in all the particulars mentioned in that description became more and more pleasant. Of Islip I know nothing beyond what I have already said, except that the township includes three or four islands of no importance, and contained, in 1790, 609 inhabitants; in 1800, 853; and, in 1810, 885.

Near the western border of the township of Huntington we passed through a hamlet, consisting of about a dozen neat houses, all of them new, and built in a modern style. This was the first settlement of any importance which we saw after leaving Southampton (a distance of about sixty miles), and the first indication of the neighbourhood and commercial influence of New-York. Soon after we left this village we turned to the north-west, over a country of an indifferent appearance, containing a few miserable settlements, but principally covered with a forest of pines, and an underwood of shrub oaks. Four or five miles from the commencement of this forest, we entered upon what is called the Grouse or Brushy plain; the south-eastern border of Hempstead plain, extending about

three or four miles in breadth. From this ground we entered Hempstead plain, and dined at a place called the Isle of Pines, situated near its centre.

Hempstead plain is a continuation of that vast level which extends from the Canoe-place to Jamaica, about eighty miles; and occupies throughout this distance the southern half of the island. It is not interrupted by a single hill. About twenty miles from the eastern limit it is covered with yellow pines, then with a mixture of pines and oaks, then with oaks only, until within a few miles of Hempstead plain the pines make their appearance again. The eastern division of this level is unfit for agriculture, and useful only as the basis of a forest. Thence to the western boundary of Huntington the soil becomes gradually better, and thence to the border of Hempstead plain it is almost absolutely barren. From the southern border of this level a number of points shoot out into the great bay, which are generally covered with a good soil, and owned by men of property and consideration. Several of them have long been entailed estates.

That part of this extensive level, which is called Hempstead plain, is distinguished from the rest only by the appearance of the soil, which is a dark, rich-looking mould, or a brown loam, spread over a coarse gravel; and by its vegetation, which from the earliest knowledge of European settlers has, with the exception of the little spot called the Isle of Pines, been nothing but a long, coarse wild grass. Many attempts, as I am informed, have been made to cultivate this ground, but without success. It is now what it ever has been, a mere and very indifferent pasture.

The Grouse plain is distinguished from it by nothing, except its covering, which, instead of grass, is formed of shrub oaks, the most shrivelled and puny that I ever met with, scarcely exceeding in size a large whortleberry bush. On this ground there is always a multitude of grouse, the heath-cock and hen of New-England; and hither a great number of sportsmen annually repair from Long-Island, New-York, and the county of West-Chester, to hunt this bird: hardly any amusement being more coveted in this quarter.

The forested parts of this great level abound with deer. A large number of these are every year killed by hunters, and are

carried chiefly to New-York, where they never fail to command a good price.

Hempstead plain is, I presume, the easternmost of those "American prairies which are too fertile to produce forest trees;" unless it should be thought that the little cluster of pines, amid which we dined, vitiates its title to this extraordinary character. To my eye, both now and in two excursions which I made to it formerly, the appearance of its border strongly resembled that of a lake. Its length is about sixteen miles from east to west; its greatest breadth eight, and its least five. Like Montauk, it is almost entirely a common, and supplies indifferent pasturage, and a sufficiency of water, throughout the mild season, for a great number of cattle. The Isle of Pines, at a distance, resembles not a little a real island.

Between the western limit of Huntington and Hempstead, we passed through the southern part of the township of Oyster Bay. Heretofore I had repeatedly passed through the northern. This tract is undulating and fertile. It is also better supplied with springs and brooks, and wears more proofs of prosperous industry than many other parts of the island. In two of these excursions also I passed through North-Hempstead; and in one of them through Flushing into Newtown. These townships have a good soil, and a surface in many places not unpleasant. In several places they exhibit, particularly the two last, a cultivation, which within a few years has been greatly improved. In Flushing Mr. Joseph Prince, and afterwards his son, Mr. William Prince, have for many years collected, raised, and sold the greatest number and variety of valuable fruit-trees ever seen in a single spot on this continent. These they have extensively spread through the United States, and have even sent them to several parts of Europe. They may, therefore, be fairly reckoned in the list of benefactors to their country.

In these townships the effects of their vicinity to New-York are abundantly conspicuous in the wealth of the farmers, and in the beauty of the villas with which they are handsomely ornamented.

Oyster Bay contained, in 1790, 4,097; in 1800, 4,548; in 1810, 4,725 inhabitants. North-Hempstead contained, in

1790, 2,696; in 1800, 2,621; in 1810, 2,700 inhabitants. Flushing contained, in 1790, 1,607; in 1800, 1,814; in 1810, 2,230 inhabitants. Newtown contained, in 1790, 2,111; in 1800, 2,309; in 1810, 2,437 inhabitants.

Hempstead is a small and rather pretty village, containing several neat houses, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian church, both decent, and a court-house, this being the shire town of Queen's county. The ministers of both churches preach in them a part of the time only, having other congregations under their care.

Hempstead lies on the south-western skirt of the plain, and on some gently rising grounds, by which it is bordered in this quarter. In the year 1790, the township, which is extensive, contained 3,828 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,413; in 1810, 3,804.

From the village of Hempstead to Jamaica the appearance of the county continually improved. The surface was still plain, but the soil was sensibly better, the forest trees now appearing singly, or in groves, were larger and more thrifty; the cultivation was more skilful, and the produce was more vigorous. The influence of New-York was continually more and more evident, until we arrived at Jamaica.

Jamaica is the largest and handsomest village in this county, containing about a hundred houses, three churches, a Dutch, a Presbyterian, and an Episcopal, and an academy of long standing, but supported with less spirit and uniformity than could be wished. The houses are built principally on a single street, running from east to west, and are generally good. The churches are not distinguished for their beauty. This town, from its neighbourhood to New-York, and from having long been a customary resort for the inhabitants of that city, has acquired a polish not visible in the towns further eastward. Its buildings and fences are neater, and the manners of its inhabitants have more of what may be called a city air; in persons of refinement and virtue extremely agreeable; but in such as are vulgar and vicious, pert, impudent, gross, and profane. The latter manners are unhappily the most common and the most prominent in all such places, are the most visible to every traveller, and enter, perhaps, more than they ought into the estimate which he forms of their character. In such a place I have often felt, that if life were not now and then refreshed by

the refined sentiments and conduct of the small number, the coarse and protuberant vices of the clumsy and insolent multitude would render it intolerable. But happily the gentleman now and then found, reanimates the spirits under the stupor into which they sink within the contagion of the market-man.

In the year 1790, Jamaica contained 1,675 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,761; and, in 1810, 2,110. Jamaica and Hempstead, with a strip of Oyster Bay, occupy the whole of Queen's county on the southern shore.

Thursday morning, May 24th, we rode to New-York to breakfast, through the remainder of Jamaica, a small corner of Bushwick, and the township of Brooklyn. The country between Jamaica and Brooklyn, being generally owned by persons who have grown rich with the aid of New-York, and being manured from the streets and stables of that city, is under high cultivation. The soil also is naturally good, a stiff loam approximating to clay, and differing materially from any which we had seen on this island. I remember no spot, of the same extent, where the produce of so many kinds appeared so well. The wheat, winter barley, flax, and oats, were remarkably fine; and, wherever the country was cultivated, as almost all of it was, its face resembled a rich garden. The surface here is generally undulating, and in some places rough; the ridges and points of the hills being formed of ragged rocks. This discord was, however, particularly agreeable to me, as I had been wearied with the monotony of the scenery which we had left behind us. The buildings on this part of the road are generally good, and are surrounded by neat appendages. Upon the whole, I thought this part of our journey peculiarly agreeable.

About two miles west of Jamaica, as I estimated the distance, we quitted the smooth circular stones, which before we had found everywhere, except on Montauk; and came suddenly upon such as were universally rough and angular. These continued to the ferry.

In the course of this journey I was struck with the diversity of the progress of vegetation in the different places which we visited. We left New-Haven on the 9th of May, and arrived at Huntington on the 15th. Here we found the vegetation

at the same stage at which we had left it at New-Haven. After we left Brook-Haven, it became gradually more and more backward, until we arrived at Southhold. On the 19th we reached East-Hampton. Here, notwithstanding the lapse of time, we found it several days behind that of New-Haven when we left it; and at least a fortnight later in the whole. We passed through the southern parts of Huntington and Oyster Bay on the 23d. At that time the vegetation in these places had scarcely overtaken that which we had left at New-Haven. On the 24th we rode from Jamaica to New-York. Here the vegetation was advanced at least a week beyond that at New-Haven; being more forward than we found it there on the 29th. The season at Jamaica, Bushwick, and Brooklyn, was therefore three weeks earlier than in the south parts of Huntington and Oyster Bay. This difference can in no way be owing to the difference either of soil or climate: for both are in favour of these parts of Huntington and Oyster Bay; the soil being sandy and warm, the situation several miles further south, and the distance of the two extremes not more than forty.

Facts, generally resembling this, exist in various parts of this country, and probably in many others. No explanation of the subject has, within my knowledge, been attempted. I will communicate to you that, which, after a good deal of reflection, appeared to me to be most satisfactory. The wind, which principally brings warmth to the southern parts of New-England, and, I presume, to the United States at large, is the south-west. When it strikes East-Hampton, and the country generally to the western line of Oyster Bay, it passes over an extensive tract of the ocean. Of course it brings with it the chilling influence of the vapour, exhaled at that time from its waters. From that point to Jamaica, the tract of ocean gradually lessens; and the cold produced by these winds, so strongly felt on the south shore of the island farther eastward, is here in a small degree diminished. Our road, at a little distance westward from this point, turned to the north, and passed through the middle of the island, from the eastern edge of Hempstead plain to New-York. Here therefore, although the island is narrow at Jamaica, the ground is somewhat less exposed to the chill of these winds, by reason of its

greater distance from the shore. From both these causes the vegetation at this season is gradually quickened, after passing the western limit of Oyster Bay towards New-York. Westward of the town of Jamaica, the south-west winds, from the shore of New-Jersey, cross only a narrow arm of the sea, about eight or ten miles wide. Hence, whatever warmth they have retained during their progress from the southern states to the Jersey shore, they bring, with little diminution, to this spot. Here, of course, commences a new and very different atmosphere from that which is found but a little farther east, and a new and proportionally different vegetation. Something may undoubtedly be allowed to the superior richness of the soil, and skill in cultivation. The former of these advantages (perhaps both) is balanced by the superior warmth of the soil at the places where the vegetation is most backward. That both are of little weight in forming this estimate I was furnished with complete proof in the month of May, 1811. In a journey, which I then took to Perth Amboy, I found the vegetation of the spring advanced a full week beyond that on the island of New-York, without any peculiar advantages either of soil or culture. But at Amboy the south-west winds blow over land, without any interruption, except by the little estuary of the river Raritan.

The land at this season is sensibly warmer than the sea; that is, the land from New-York to Cape-Florida, and indeed from New-York to the 44th degree of latitude. Of this a complete proof is furnished even by Connecticut river. When the freshets are high, the towns on the borders of that river experience a sensible change of temperature, a chill which lasts till the river subsides to its proper bed.

Accordingly the cold winds from the north are perceptibly warmed, as they pass from the higher to the lower latitudes of New-England and New-York; and the south-western winds from Florida, although cooled to some degree in their progress to the north, are yet much less so than those which blow over the ocean. A south west wind at New-Haven, in April or May, although blowing over a considerable tract of ocean, and therefore less warm than in the tracts surrounding New-York, yet, after continuing two or three days, becomes always

warm, and produces a rapid change in vegetation. Sometimes, indeed, it renders the weather uncomfortably hot, even within this short period. A south-west wind reaches New-Haven from the Jersey shore, by crossing the arm of the sea between Sandy-Hook and Long-Island, passing through the principal part of Queen's-county, the north-west corner of Huntington township, crossing the Sound in an oblique direction about thirty miles, and then passing over the breadth of the township of Milford. It ought however to be observed, that these winds, although universally named here south-west winds, blow regularly from south-west by west, and should therefore be placed in a course more westerly than that which I have assumed. By a person who casts his eye on a map of the United States, it will be seen, that these winds have their course on the vast plain which extends from the Raritan to Cape Florida, and from the Atlantic to the mountains in the interior. The level of this plain being raised but little above that of the ocean, and its soil being principally sandy, it must have less influence to cool these winds than almost any other tract which might be supposed to occupy the same position.

In conformity to this view of the subject, the countries lying east of New-Haven on the south shore of New-England, have a later spring, particularly those which are at a considerable distance. The south-west winds there having the same damp, chilly character which the south and south-east winds have here.

When the northern winds, or the south-eastern, prevail during the months of April and May, the state of vegetation is materially different from that which has been here described. The northern winds, though somewhat milder on the coast than in the interior, diffuse nevertheless a temperance so nearly equal, that the difference of vegetation bears very little proportion to the latitude, from the northern boundary of Massachusetts to the Sound. When the south-east winds prevail at this season, they are chilly and piercing, and affect vegetables much in the same manner as they affect men. In such a season the spring is always more forward at Hartford than at New-Haven, and as forward at Northampton. In May,

1811, the vegetation was as far advanced on the 20th at New-Haven as at New-York. These winds had then for a long period been more uniformly prevalent than during any other vernal season, except one (1792), within my remembrance.

Of Bushwick, as we passed through a corner of it only, I know nothing, except that it is said to be pleasant and fertile; that it was settled by Dutch colonists, and is inhabited by their descendants; that it is possessed of the common prosperity of this neighbourhood; and that, in 1790, it contained 540 inhabitants; in 1800, 656; and, in 1810, 798.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Brooklyn. Prospect from the Heights. Battle between the British under General Howe, and the Americans under General Putnam. Retreat of the American Army to New-York. The East River. King's County settled by the Dutch. Character of the Inhabitants. Quakers. Return.

DEAR SIR;

BROOKLYN is the shire town of King's county, directly opposite to New-York. It is the largest and handsomest town on Long-Island, and the most pleasantly situated. It is built on the summit and the sides of a pretty elevation, and commands a noble prospect of the east river; the city and county of New-York; the Hudson; the shore of New-Jersey beyond it; New-York Bay, and its islands; a considerable tract on Long-Island; Staten-Island; and the high hills of Navesink, in the county of Monmouth. The field of view is extensive, various, and rich; and includes a great multitude of the beauties both of nature and art. The city of New-York is an object which in this country is singularly splendid; the groves are numerous and fine, the plantations are remarkably gay and fertile, and the villas rise in perpetual succession on the shores and eminences; embellishing the landscape, and exhibiting decisive proofs of opulence in their proprietors. The waters here presented to the eye are charmingly diversified and nobly limited. An immense number of vessels, assembled at the numerous wharfs, anchored in the streams, or moving in a thousand directions over their surface, and over the great bay in which they terminate, present to the eye one of the liveliest images of vigorous activity which can be found in the world. For a view of all this fine scenery, this elevation is probably the best position.

Brooklyn itself is a beautiful object, and from the opposite shore is seen with the greatest advantage. Several of the streets are straight and spacious. The houses are generally good; many of them are new; many handsome; very many painted white, and therefore cheerful and brilliant. The town contains three churches, a Dutch, an Episcopal, and a Methodist. The inhabitants are, extensively, descendants from the original Dutch settlers; the rest are a casual collection from all quarters. Their number, in 1790, was 1,603; in 1800, 2,378; and, in 1810, 4,402.

Brooklyn will long be remembered from the battle, fought in its neighbourhood by the British and Hessians, under the command of General Howe, with the Americans, under the command of Major-General Putnam, and immediately under that of Major-General Sullivan. In this engagement the army of the enemy outnumbered that of the Americans in the proportion of about two to one. The British army was also composed of regular, well disciplined, and extensively of veteran troops. The Americans were militia, or raw recruits, and had no dragoons, not even enough to serve as videttes. They were stationed chiefly on a chain of hills, running from Yellow Hook towards Hempstead, and the British, from the ferry between Staten-Island and Long-Island, through the level country to the village of Flatland. From the last mentioned place a strong column, under the command of General Clinton and Lord Percy, marched into the Jamaica road through an unoccupied pass in this chain of hills, in the night of the 26th of July, and turned the left of the American army. General Grant at the same time attacked the right of the Americans, under the command of Lord Sterling, posted near the ferry, while the fleet commenced a powerful cannonade upon a battery at Red Hook, principally to draw off the attention of the Americans from the main attack, that directed by Sir Henry Clinton.

As soon as the Americans perceived the British to have gained their rear, they were thrown into confusion. An attack was then made upon the centre, commanded by General Sullivan, and the right, commanded by Lord Sterling, and both divisions were speedily put to flight. A gallant, but unavailing attempt was made by Lord Sterling, which however was not

without its advantages, as it facilitated the retreat of a considerable part of the troops under his command. The victory was complete on the part of the British. The loss of the Americans cannot be ascertained. By General Washington it was estimated at not more than one thousand. This estimate unquestionably comprised all that came within his knowledge, and he knew, probably, better than any other man, the real state of the subject. General Howe computed it at three thousand three hundred. This computation may be regarded as a mere conjeciure; it certainly was very remote from the truth. The number killed may be estimated at about four hundred; the wounded and the prisoners, among whom were General Sullivan, Lord Sterling, and Brigadier-General Woodhull, may have amounted to one thousand.

The number of Americans on the heights was less than six thousand. The British exceeded them greatly in numbers, and not less in discipline and generalship. The neglect of the pass, through which the main enterprise of the British was conducted, was fatal, and can never be excused, unless on the score of inexperience. The distress, occasioned by this defeat, was very great. Throughout every part of the colonies it spread alarm and terror; but it was productive, also, of some beneficial consequences. Particularly, it diffused a general conviction, soon after riveted by the disasters which followed it, that, if the country was to be saved at all, it must be saved by the vigorous discipline and firm efforts of a standing army, and not by the feeble and desultory exertions of militia.

The situation of the Americans was now critical. General Washington, who during the heat of the action had passed over from New-York to the camp at Brooklyn, perceived that he could succour the troops, which were engaged, neither with the body which were within the lines, nor with the battalions left behind at New-York. Nothing, therefore, could be done to preserve the army, and, perhaps, the American cause, but to accomplish a retreat with the utmost expedition. The British waited only for a wind to move the shipping into the East river. The success of such an attempt would render his retreat doubtful, and this without any improbability might be accomplished the following day. He determined, therefore, while the British were encamped within six hundred

yards of his works, to withdraw his troops to New-York on the night of the 28th.

Throughout the evening, and until eleven o'clock, the wind was unfavourable to the enterprise. It then blew gently from the south-west. The water became smooth. A thick fog covered all the neighbouring region, and the army commenced their embarkation in boats, which were waiting to receive them. With such order, and such perfect silence, was the retreat conducted, that the whole army, their field artillery, a part of their heavy ordnance, their ammunition, provision, horses, waggons, &c., had passed over the river before the rear-guard suspected that they had left the ground. The British were so near, that their spades and pickaxes were distinctly heard within the American lines; yet they never discovered the retreat until half an hour after the works had been evacuated. This, however, could not have taken place but for the rain, which fell during a considerable part of the time, and for the fog, styled by Dr. Gordon, "that heavenly messenger."

Seldom has an army been placed in more critical circumstances than the American, antecedently to this retreat. They were miserably armed in many instances; ill disciplined; commanded generally by officers, imperfectly acquainted with military affairs, and opposed by an enemy nearly treble their original number, commanded by officers of great skill and experience, and amply supplied with every thing, which could contribute to the success of their operations. The works, by which the Americans were defended, were of little strength, and, had the British attacked them, must in all probability have been carried, whatever resistance might have been made. In this case the army would have been ruined, and it may be very seriously doubted whether the colonies would have ever raised another. The retreat was timely, masterly, and, by the blessing of Providence, completely successful.

The East river (as it is called) is a continuation of the Sound, and has probably derived its present name from its resemblance to a river in appearance. It is not far from a mile in breadth; and, being the principal harbour of New-York, is always filled with shipping. The tide moves here with very great rapidity, and renders the ferry disagreeable, except at

high and low water. We arrived just before high water, and found the passage tolerably pleasant.

I have already observed, that King's county was principally settled by the Dutch. This is partially true of Queen's county also. The general character of the Dutch settlers in the states of New-York and New-Jersey, I propose to give elsewhere. I know of nothing, by which their descendants on Long-Island are distinguished from their brethren.

The other inhabitants of these two counties are a mixed people, derived from many sources, and exhibiting a great variety of character. In religion they are Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and Nihilists. They are generally industrious, frugal, and thrifty. Their advantages for marketing are not exceeded. You will not wonder, therefore, that they are wealthy. The breeding of horses has for a long time been here a favourite business; and horse-racing (of which Hempstead plain is the great theatre) a favourite amusement. Wherever this kind of sport prevails, no man, acquainted at all with human affairs, will expect any great prevalence of morals or religion. There are few spots of the same extent, settled at so early a period, where these great concerns of man are less regarded. Young men, even of wealthy families, are usually taught scarcely any thing more than to read, write, and keep accounts. The state of society is, therefore, humble, and involves very little of knowledge or sentiment. Intelligence is in truth disregarded by the body of the inhabitants, except as it aids them to the acquisition of property. The young men of ambition and enterprise, when they set out in life, generally quit their native soil, and seek a residence in a superior state of society, or at least where they find more extensive means of business.

In various parts of these two counties the sabbath is considered by many of the inhabitants as scarcely sustaining a sacred character. It is devoted extensively to visiting, to amusement, and, during the seasons of mowing and harvest, not unfrequently to labour. In some places there are, for long periods, no ministers; in others the people are the prey of ignorant teachers, recommended by nothing but ardour and vociferation.

The clergymen, who are actually settled in the ministry, in these counties, are, so far as I am informed, of the same respectable character possessed by those in other parts of this country; but the people are so generally split up into sects, that their congregations are in most instances small.

The Quakers, the number of whom is considerable, differ little from their brethren elsewhere, except that they are more uninformed and more listless than in several other places.

The insular situation of these three counties has a very perceptible influence upon the inhabitants as a body. Their own internal concerns must always exist upon a small scale. Their views, affections, and pursuits, must of course be always limited. Few objects can be presented to them, and few events can occur of sufficient magnitude to expand thought, or of sufficient importance to awaken energy. Almost all their concerns are absolutely confined to the house or to the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood rarely extends beyond the confines of a small hamlet. Habitually bounded by these confines, the mind is neither very much inclined, nor very able to look beyond them. Its views, in most cases, will, after a little time, be of choice occupied within these small circles; its affections will all centre here, and its pursuits will break through, only to reach the market. The tenour of life, therefore, will be uniform; undisturbed on the one hand, and tame on the other. What the mind might have been cannot be known, because it has never been stimulated to any attempts for the expansion of its views, or the exertion of its powers. What it is may, from one instance, be easily conjectured in a thousand.

The inhabitants of this island are destitute of other advantages, which contribute not a little to diffuse information, and awaken energy. There is very little travelling here beside their own. The attention excited, the curiosity awakened, and the animation produced, by the frequent arrival of strangers, are here in a great measure unknown. At the same time, comparatively few persons of talents and information reside here. There is nothing sufficiently inviting in the circumstances of the island itself to allure persons of this character hither from the continent, and the allurements of the continent are such as commonly to entice men of this description,

who are natives of the island, to remove from it for the sake of obtaining them. A considerable number of such men, born here, are accordingly found in New-York and elsewhere. The advantages derived from the conversation and example of persons distinguished for superiority of character, are therefore enjoyed in a very imperfect degree; and that luminous spirit, and those improvements in the state of society, which they everywhere shed upon the circle around them, are very imperfectly realized. Such, it would seem, must, through an indefinite period, be the situation of Long-Island.

We continued in New-York until Monday, the 28th, and then commenced our journey to New-Haven, where we arrived the following day.

I am, Sir, &c.

FIRST

JOURNEY TO LAKE GEORGE.

LETTER I.

Journey through Goshen, &c., to the head of Lake George. Voyage across the Lake. Excursion to Ticonderoga. Return to the Head of the Lake. Manner of Hunting Deer. Huntsman. Overtake a Buck swimming on the Lake. Fort William Henry. Bloody Pond.

DEAR SIR;

ON Saturday, September 18th, 1802, I set out on a journey to Lake George, accompanied by Mr. S———, a member of the senior class in Yale college. We left New-Haven at eleven o'clock, and arrived at Litchfield in the evening. Here we were detained, by the heat and moisture of the weather, till Tuesday morning. We then rode to Goshen, where we continued till three in the afternoon. The Rev. Mr. ———, pastor of Goshen, joined us here on a journey to Middlebury in Vermont. The weather still continued intensely hot, and the sky threatened us with rain.

From a hill in the north part of Goshen, at a small distance west of our road, we regaled ourselves with an interesting prospect of the Kaatskill Mountains. After our return to the road, which is a turnpike lately completed, we speedily reached the western summit of the Green Mountains in this quarter. Here the road descends into a valley, several miles in length, formed by a separation of the mountains, and furnishing an easy, gradual descent to the plains below. Through the chasm between the spurs, which to the eye are the extreme boundaries of the vallies on the north-east and south-west, we were presented with a most interesting prospect. The valley itself

was a fine object, narrow, deep, and wild, with here and there a solitary farm, and a few scattered houses. The mountains by which it is bounded are bold, majestic promontories, advancing towards each other, and intruding into the valley, with steep and lofty precipices. Beyond these spreads the expansion of the Hooestennuc, and still farther beyond ascended the summits of Taghkannuc, gilded by the declining sun, and spotted by the shadows of several clouds, which floated slowly and solemnly along its summit, and continually changed its dark form as they moved over its bosom. Behind the mountain rose a black and awful cloud, highly charged with the electric fluid, whence the lightning streamed and the thunders rolled with uncommon grandeur.

At the bottom of this valley runs, with a rapid current, a brook, of sufficient size for a mill-stream. Its margin on each side is formed by narrow intervals. The settlements here are recent, compared with most others in the state. The grounds are imperfectly cleared. The agriculture is indifferent, and the houses are chiefly new and small. The prospect of the mountains from the valley is scarcely less striking than that which has been already described.

About five o'clock we stopped at an inn, eight or nine miles from Goshen, to escape the shower alluded to above. The roaring of the thunder in this mountainous region, the flashing of the lightning, the murmuring of the rain, and the noise of the torrents, almost instantaneously formed by it, produced impressions not easily imagined by persons accustomed only to an open country.

When the shower was ended we set out for Sheffield. Our road passed for a considerable distance directly under the Green Mountains, whose precipices presented us with a continued succession of wild sublimity. On the western side extended a solitary forest, rising out of low, marshy ground, destitute of cultivation. In this absolute solitude we found a new handsome church, just built, where the forest had been cleared to make room for it. The sky was overcast and threatened us with rain. Before we arrived at the bridge, which crosses the Hooestennuc at the south end of Sheffield, the night came on, and was extremely dark. When we came to the bridge we dismounted and walked over it. It was so

decayed and tremulous, that we were not a little relieved when we found ourselves on firm ground. Our anxiety we afterwards learned was but too well justified, and the inhabitants considered us as having escaped from serious danger.

Four miles of our journey still remained. But we consoled ourselves with the remembrance, that our road lay wholly on a smooth plain, where there could be neither obstruction nor difficulty. With regard to this fact, we were however sadly deceived, for a number of workmen were employed in converting the road through this very distance into a turnpike. The earth had been very lately thrown up, and by the rains was changed into a deep mire. The old path, which was serpentine in its direction, frequently crossed the new one, throughout the whole distance. In this case it passed over the ditches on each side, into which the descent was often perpendicular. Trenches were also cut in various places to carry off the water which might be accumulated by rains. Instead of the smooth way which we expected, we found one more irregular and embarrassing than any which either of us remembered, except in grounds partially cleared, such as I found on the mountains of Littleton. The darkness was so profound that our horses were unable to grope out their course, and became fearful and hesitating. At times they refused to advance, and at times, with a trembling, tripping step, they appeared ready to plunge us in the mire. With a continual alternation of ascents and descents between the path, the ditches, and the drains, we found our way entangled and distressing until we arrived with a creeping, snail-like pace, at our inn. Before we reached it the rain began to fall in torrents. To complete our mortification, the inn-keeper informed us, that his own house, and the only remaining inn in the town were full. Finally, however, we obtained lodgings at a private house.

The next morning we were detained until eleven o'clock by the rain; when we employed the interval between two showers in making the best of our way to Great Barrington. A succession of dark, misty clouds, sailing magnificently along the summits and bosom of Taghkannuc, in some measure compensated us by the solemnity and grandeur of their motions for a wetting, which we received from one of them during the latter part of our ride.

At the inn where we dined, we were again detained by the rain until three o'clock, when we proceeded pleasantly enough to Stockbridge. Here we were delayed by the same hindrance two days more, but passed our time so agreeably in the combined enjoyments of hospitality, friendship, and refined conversation, as to leave us no room to regret the detention.

Saturday morning, September 25th, there was a slight frost, but not of sufficient power to affect the tenderest vegetables. It was followed by a very fine day, which enabled us to proceed very pleasantly to M'Gown's, five miles from Albany.

In the morning we reached Albany in sufficient season for Divine service. Here we continued till Tuesday. Then, visiting the Cohoes in our way, we rode to Ensign's at Stillwater; and the next day, having dined at Sandy-Hill, alighted from our horses at the head of Lake George, and lodged in an inn kept by a Mr. Verner.

The country, as far as Glen's Falls, I found much improved in its appearance. The forests, which heretofore bordered the road in many places, were gone. The ground was inclosed. The houses were better and more numerous, and every thing wore the aspect of increasing prosperity. The road from Sandy-Hill to Lake George passes along the Hudson, as you may remember, to Glen's Falls, three miles. Throughout the remaining distance it crosses a pine ground, generally poor and barren. The road is indifferent, being alternately encumbered with sand and stones, and the settlements are few, recent, and very unpromising.

The next morning, Thursday, September 30th, our host very readily and very civilly offered to conduct us over the lake. Preparations were, therefore, immediately made for our voyage, and we set out between ten and eleven o'clock. The boat, which conveyed us, was built the preceding year at Schenectady, for the use, and under the direction of General Schuyler. Thence it was removed, partly by water, and partly over land, into the Hudson; up that river to Fort Edward, and thence over land into Lake George. Here this gentleman, then more than seventy years of age, embarked with a part of his family; and, crossing the several portages, proceeded down Lake Champlain and the river St. Lawrence to Quebec.

By the same route he returned to this place, and, leaving the boat for the accommodation of future passengers, proceeded by land to Albany. No vehicle could be lighter or more convenient. It was built in the form of a batteau, and was thirty feet in length, and about eight or nine in breadth. Over the middle half, a canopy of painted canvas, with curtains of the same material descending from it, sheltered passengers from the sun, wind, and rain. This room, for such it was when the curtains fell, was neatly floored, and furnished with seats and other accommodations, perfectly fitted for ease and pleasure. The day was fine, and the scenery above, beneath, and around us enchanting. We were in the best spirits. Our conductor was exceedingly obliging, and the rowers followed his example. No excursion could be pleasanter than this, except that, during the latter part of the voyage and of the day, the wind, for about two hours, blew from the north with sufficient strength to retard our progress, and to prevent us from reaching the landing till the evening was somewhat advanced. During the last two or three miles the air in this manner became cold enough to be disagreeable.

From the landing we proceeded to the house of Judge K. The family were in bed, but they rose immediately and entertained us with the utmost hospitality.

Very early the next morning we took a waggon and rode to the peninsula, so often mentioned in American history by the name of Ticonderoga. Our driver, who was perfectly acquainted with the spot, conducted us sedulously to every thing which we wished to see. We first examined the old French lines, a mound raised by a body of that people across the isthmus, while they were in possession of it, for the purpose of defending the approach to the fort. Across these, the principal object of my curiosity in visiting this place, lay our road to the fort. We then surveyed the fort itself, and then the grenadiers' battery. Thence we proceeded to the shore of Lake Champlain, that we might see the difference between the waters of the two lakes, the one pure as chrystal, the other turbid with clay, and disgusting to the eye. After our curiosity was satisfied we returned to the house of Mr. K., breakfasted, bade adieu to this worthy family, and began our voyage to the head of the lake.

The morning had been foggy, but the vapour was dispersed, and the weather became bright, serene, and soft, like that of the preceding day. Our voyage was in the highest degree delightful.

On our way we called at a house, standing upon the western shore, to supply ourselves with bread. The man and his wife had just then taken, not a solemn, but very violent resolution to part for ever; and were busied in preparing for their separation. They were, it seems, veterans in this species of contest; and had adopted a similar resolution very often before. The man was a sot, and the woman a termagant.

Two or three miles higher up the lake, we saw at a considerable distance what appeared to us to be a bear, mounted upon a tall, dry tree, leaning towards the lake, on the extremity of one of the points, which stretched out from the western shore. As we approached the place, we found the beast changed into a stout boy, about sixteen years of age, who had taken possession of this watch-tower, for the purpose of observing the first entrance of the deer, which some neighbouring huntsmen were endeavouring to drive into the water. We were all forcibly struck with the position, attitude, and general appearance of this stripling; nor did I ever before mistrust how much a human being can resemble a monkey.

Deer abound in the mountains on both sides of Lake George. To me, the manner in which they are taken was new. The huntsmen with their hounds rouse them from their retreats in the forest: when they immediately betake themselves to the water, and swim towards the opposite shore. Other huntsmen, engaged in the business, place themselves on the points, to watch their entrance into the lake. Each of these is provided with a small, light batteau, which he is able to row faster than the deer can swim. When he has overtaken the deer, he dispatches him with a stroke or two of his oar, and then tows him back to the beach.

We landed on the point next above. Here we found a huntsman, who had a little before taken a handsome buck, three years old, which was then lying by him on the shore. He informed me, that his companion, who was then with a pack of hounds at a small distance in the interior, and whom he

expected every moment, usually took from twenty to thirty in a year.

Bears are caught here in the same manner, except that they are shot: as being too dangerous to be closely approached.

On this point we dined without ceremony or dainties; but we had keen appetites, and were satisfied. Before our departure we heard the hounds advancing near to us. Our hunting companion instantly took fire at the sound. His eye kindled, his voice assumed a loftier tone, his stride became haughty, his style swelled into pomp; and his sentiments were changed rapidly from mildness to ardour, to vehemence, and to rage. The boy above-mentioned, whose aerial station was in full view from this point, had disappeared. Wrathful at this desertion, and assured of the immediate appearance of the deer, he vented his mingled emotions in a singular volley of magnificent promises, impious oaths, and furious execrations.

I was forcibly struck with the sameness of the emotions, produced by hunting and by war. The ardour of battle, the glitter of arms, the roaring of cannon, the thunder of shouts, and the shock of conflict, could scarcely have produced, in a single moment, more lofty, more violent, or more fierce agitations, than were roused in this man by the approach of the hounds, the confident expectation of a victim, and the brilliant prospect of a venatory triumph. To him, who has been a witness of both objects, it will cease to be a wonder, that the savage should make the chase his darling substitute for war, and a source of glory, second only to that acquired in battle: or that Nimrod, and his fellow hunters, were speedily changed into warriors, and learned from preying on beasts to fasten upon men.

All human expectations, however firmly founded, or confidently entertained, are liable, alas! to disappointment. Our hunter was not exempted from the common lot of man. His partner came up with the hounds; but, sad to tell, without a deer. The magnificence of our companion dwindled in a moment. The fire vanished from his eye, his voice fell to the natural key, and the hero shrunk into a plain farmer.

From this point we easily made our way to the house of a blacksmith, named Edmund, on the western side of the lake, eleven miles from Fort George. We arrived just as it be-

came dark. The man had heard the sound of the oars, and with a civility, common among new settlers, came with a candle, to aid us in landing, the shore being rough and inconvenient. He readily consented to lodge us, and both he and his family entertained us with as much hospitality and kindness as we could have expected from particular friends.

These people furnished a complete contrast to the pair mentioned above. The man was six feet and two or three inches in height, and a Sampson in his appearance. His wife also was tall and of a vigorous frame; and, had a controversy arisen, they would together have been no ill match for our whole company. But they were gentle-minded, affectionate, and even polite, both to each other and to those around them. This character was not assumed, but habitual; as was evident from the easy and native appearance, which it uniformly wore. Plain, indeed, they were in their manners; but there is something in the unaffected civility of plain people, which is peculiarly pleasing and amiable; and to my eye, at times, peculiarly graceful.

This man had a framed house of two stories, with two rooms on a floor. He told us that he raised it on the 1st of the preceding March, and removed his family into it on the 13th of the same month. He further informed us, that he had sown twenty-seven bushels of wheat the preceding year; from which in ordinary seasons he would probably have reaped twenty bushels per acre, and in good seasons thirty; and that, although he had gathered all, which was worth the labour, he should not get more than fifty bushels from the whole. This disappointment, to him a very serious one, he bore with entire equanimity, and even with cheerfulness. A blast in this region is uncommon, and such an one as has prevailed the present year was never before known.

In the morning, Saturday, October 2d, I took a survey of our landlord's farm, and was pleased to see it exhibit all the proofs of fertility and thrift, which could be expected on so new a plantation. We breakfasted early; and taking our leave of this friendly family, began our voyage homeward. The weather was a mere continuation of that fine serenity, which had smiled upon us the two preceding days. Scarcely had we advanced two miles on our way, when we saw a buck

swimming in the lake half a mile before us. As soon as he perceived us, he exerted all his strength to gain the point of an island, which a little southward of our course projected far into the water. To my great satisfaction, he reached it before we came up with him. As soon as he struck the shore, he flew rather than ran into the forest, and was out of sight in a moment. Our conductor and his men were much less satisfied with the disappointment than we were. But fortune, if I may use their language, soon made them amends. When we had proceeded about half a mile farther, another animal of the same species, but still larger, appeared at a little distance, making his way across the lake, and too far advanced to retreat. Our companions pursued him with no small degree of the spirit mentioned above, generally however with entire decency; and, speedily coming up, made him their prisoner after having given him a few strokes with the oar. They then drew him into the bow of the boat, where he lay just by my side in a posture, and with an eye of as affecting supplication as I almost ever beheld. Indeed it was a stronger resemblance of the suppliant aspect and attitude of a suffering infant than can easily be conceived.

At the first sight of this animal I was convinced that we should overtake him, and therefore hardened my heart, as well as I could, in order to be prepared for the event. I recollected, that it was as vindicable to kill a buck as an ox; and that his flesh would be a substitute for other meat, which must be obtained at the same expense of life and happiness. Nor could I deny, that our companions were uncensurable for their wishes to possess themselves of such a dainty; or refuse to exculpate them from the charge of any peculiar cruelty. I acknowledged, that they felt and did exactly what their fellow-men, as a body, would in the same circumstances have felt and done. But all my efforts were to no purpose. The appearance of the unfortunate animal put my philosophy to flight; and made so strong an impression upon my mind, that for several days his image, in spite of every exertion, was almost incessantly before my eyes, and is at this distance of time fresh and vivid in my remembrance. "Poor unhappy creature," I thought within myself, "like Christianity, without an earthly friend, and everywhere denied a safe, quiet retreat."

Wherever thou wanderest, thou art persecuted, and thy persecutors are everywhere wolves, catamounts, and men: last, thy worst persecutors; the two first, symbols of the men and the fiends who have ever combined to persecute Christianity also."

Our conductor, however, and his rowers exulted in their victory. Amid many other expressions of joy he remarked, that he would not for a considerable sum have failed of meeting with this adventure, that I might mention it in the journal, which he perceived I kept. He also informed us, with an air of no common panegyric, that a Mrs. D., of Sandy Hill, had caught one of these animals with her own hands, and brought it to the shore. Mrs. D., I presume, is of the true Amazonian breed; and, had the register of her genealogy been correctly kept, would find her ancestry reaching directly to the Thermodon.

The buck which we had taken was five years old, the largest and fattest that I ever saw.

A fine breeze now sprung up from the north-west. We hoisted our sail, and made the rest of our way as easily and pleasantly as can be conceived. We landed at the south-west corner of the lake, for the sake of seeing the remains of Fort William Henry. This fortress stood on a small eminence, rising gradually and immediately from the beach. It was a regular square work, with three, and I presume with four bastions; for I had not curiosity enough to examine. On the north is the lake, on the west a valley, on the south and south-east a thick swamp, and on the east a beach, very little elevated above the water. The immediate access was therefore difficult, but the spot is entirely commanded by more distant grounds; particularly by the eminence on which Fort George was afterwards erected. The walls were built of earth, rather sandy and loose; yet, having been always covered with the verdure, which spontaneously springs up everywhere in the eastern parts of the Union, are chiefly entire, except where they are broken down by the great road, which passes into the north-western parts of this state, and runs directly over them. In their best state they would have been a defence only against desultory attacks of Canadians and savages.

After we had satisfied our curiosity, we returned directly to the inn, mounted our horses, and set out for Sandy Hill. Before we began our voyage over the lake, we had examined with minute attention Fort George, and the remains of the works erected in its neighbourhood. On our return we surveyed several places which we had before passed in the evening, particularly the pond called Bloody Pond*; a name, which it received from the fact, that the French, and probably the English also, who fell in the battle between Baron Dieskaw, and the detachment of English and Indians, under Colonel Williams and the great Hendrick, were thrown into its waters. We also marked the rill called Rocky Brook†, where this battle began. At Glen's falls we turned aside, and viewed this fine piece of nature's workmanship. At Sandy Hill, where we arrived about three o'clock, we took a light dinner, and then without any inconvenience, except the heat, reached Carpenter's a little after sunset: our whole journey having been forty miles.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Bloody-Pond is at a small distance from the road on the eastern side, somewhat more as I should judge, than three miles south of Fort George. It received its name from the fact, that the French threw their slain into it, after the engagement with Colonel Williams's party.

† Rocky-Brook, or Four-mile Brook, crosses the road about four miles south of Lake George, near where the rocky ground terminates.

LETTER II.

Description of Lake George. Prevalent Winds. Fish. Water of the Lake uncommonly pure, and supplied by subjacent Springs. Mills and Forges. Fine Scenery of the Lake. The Water. Islands. Shore and Mountains. View while returning from Ticonderoga.

DEAR SIR;

LAKE GEORGE lies between 43° 25′ and 43° 55′ north latitude, and between 73° 25′ and 73° 43′ west longitude from London. Its southern termination is in the township of Queensbury; its northern, in that of Crown Point. Its length is thirty-four miles, its greatest breadth four. At the head, or southern end, its breadth is about one mile. From this place it increases to a remarkable point, called "Fourteen Mile Point" (being at that distance from the head of the lake), to three miles and a half. Here it opens on the left hand into a large bay, called North-West Bay, running back six miles into the country. Above Fourteen Mile Point to Scotch Bonnet Point (ten miles), the whole distance is called the Straits, being generally from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth. Here it expands again into an opening, called Macdonald's Bay, five miles in length, and four in breadth. After this it gradually narrows into a river, which name it may fairly sustain for a mile and an half above the landing. Here it is not more than forty or fifty yards in breadth.

The depth of this lake is very various; the greatest is sixty fathoms.

Its water is perfectly pure; inferior in this respect to none, perhaps, in the world. All travellers remark this fact; a strong proof that it is nearly singular. By the inhabitants on its borders, who freely drink it at all times, it has been abun

dantly proved to be entirely salubrious. We drank it often, and found it to be of the best taste and quality. On the surface it was, at this time, too warm to be agreeable. Six feet below it was cool, and, lower still, cold. These facts result from its formation by subjacent springs.

North-east winds are here frequent, and often violent, blowing nearly in the longitudinal direction of the lake. Winds from the east are rare, as they are also from the south-east; but, when coming from this quarter, they are usually tempestuous. In the winter they blow almost wholly from the north-east or the north-west. From the latter point they have the same character as in the New-England states. A west wind is scarcely known. The south-west winds prevail principally in the summer, and are generally mild and pleasant.

The snow usually begins to lie permanently about the middle of November, and continues till the 1st of April. There is, however, a great difference in this respect in different years. During the winter preceding our journey, very little snow fell. That which falls is as frequently blown into drifts as in the country near the ocean.

The lake is commonly frozen between Christmas and the 1st of January. It continues frozen from three and an half to four months: and once, within the knowledge of my informant, was frozen till the 3d of May. The ice does not sink, as in Lake Champlain, but gradually dissolves.

There is no perceptible current in its waters, except within a small distance from the north landing. A log thrown into it floats with the winds and the waves with equal ease in every direction, and in still weather is perfectly quiescent.

The fish of this lake, which are brought upon the table, are trout, bass, and perch. The first are large, but not numerous. Our landlord informed me, that he had seen one which weighed thirteen pounds, and that some had been caught which weighed eighteen. I ate of them several times, and found them good. The bass seldom exceed five pounds; and the perch, two. Both are in sufficient plenty.

Few water-fowl frequent this spot except the *loon*, which is not eaten. The common birds of the country abound on the borders. Eagles are numerous. Of this, the number which we saw furnished sufficient evidence.

The surface of Lake George is said by Dr. Morse to be one hundred feet higher than that of Lake Champlain. The inhabitants on its borders estimate it at three hundred. So far as I was able to judge, from a loose observation of the falls, I thought this estimate not very remote from the truth. There are three sets of falls in the stream which carries the waters into Lake Champlain. The lower falls, with the rapid at the bottom, cannot be less, but are probably more than one hundred feet in perpendicular height; and in the spring, when the lake is full, must be a cataract of uncommon magnificence. Now they were a collection of small and beautiful cascades. The bottom of the lake is probably about the same level with the surface of Lake Champlain. Its waters must, I think, be almost all supplied by subjacent springs. This is evident from two considerations. The first is, that the streams which flow into it are so few, and so small, as scarcely to supply the waste occasioned by evaporation. The other is, that the water of this lake differs materially from those of all the neighbouring country. The waters of the Hudson, of Lake Champlain, and generally of the whole region between the Green Mountains and the Mississippi, are impregnated with lime. Those of Lake George are pure and potable, as are almost all others which are eastward of the Green Mountains. The vast ranges on both sides of this lake furnish ample reservoirs; and the earth and the rocks, of which they are composed, are both of the kinds whence pure waters are usually derived.

The lake was probably formed at the deluge, by the sinking of the exterior convex of the earth, in the manner so ably illustrated, and as I think completely proved, by John Whitehurst, Esq., F. R. S. and Philip Howard, Esq.; in his History of the Globe; and indicated by Moses in the expression, "The fountains of the great deep were broken up." To my eyes, at least, the general aspect of the whole scene; the appearance of the strata; the forms of the mountains; the manner in which they descend to the lake; the figures presented by the several points; the continuation of those points under the water; the manner in which they are connected with the islands; the appearance of the islands themselves; the surfaces and strata of which, in many instances, are horizontal, and where they are oblique have their obliquity easily

explained by their reference to the neighbouring shores; all evinced this fact so strongly, as to leave in my mind not a serious doubt.

When the snow dissolves in the spring, the water of Lake George rises at the utmost only two feet. The variation is distinctly marked on the rocky parts of the shore, which, between two horizontal lines, are in a small degree discoloured. It is said, that before the erection of the upper dam, near the north landing, the variation was only one foot. About a mile and a half south of the landing the soil changes to clay, and the water becomes somewhat turbid and disagreeable, though far less so than that of South Bay; and, like that bay, is deformed by bulrushes. This is the part which I have mentioned as assuming the appearance of a river.

On each of these falls mills are erected; and forges also, in which a considerable quantity of iron is manufactured. The ore is brought from the border of Lake Champlain in boats, which come to the bridge, built over this river, about half way between the two lakes. It is said a method of blowing the fire, peculiarly ingenious, is adopted here; and, it is supposed, here only. We were not able to visit the place where this operation is performed.

The shores are composed of two ranges of mountains; sometimes meeting the water abruptly, and sometimes leaving a horizontal, or very gradually rising margin, extending from a few rods to as many miles. Upon this margin settlements are begun on the eastern, and much more frequently on the western side. The lands are said to be generally good; being chiefly loam, mixed with gravel, and yield abundantly every product of the climate.

The forested grounds contain no animals which are not common to the country at large.

The borders are eminently healthy, and the fever and ague is unknown.

The rocks, so far as I had opportunity to observe them, were chiefly granite, and generally stratified. In contradiction to all other strata in this state, lying in the same longitude, the strata here lie obliquely. They are formed of the common grey granite of this country. On the mountain, called An-

thony's Nose, on Buck Mountain, and in several other places, they are stained with iron.

Limestone, exactly the same with that at Glen's Falls, and elsewhere in this region, blue, horizontally stratified, and fantastically seamed by the weather, abounds at the head of the lake.

By persons who love the fine scenes of nature, and probably by all who have visited this spot, I should be thought unpardonable were I to omit a particular description of those which are here presented to the eye.

Lake George is universally considered as being in itself, and in its environs, the most beautiful object of the same nature in the United States. Several European travellers who have visited it, and who had seen the celebrated waters of Switzerland, have given it the preference. The access from the south is eminently noble, being formed by two vast ranges of mountains, which, commencing their career several miles south of Fort George, extend beyond Plattsburg, and terminate near the north line of the state, occupying a distance of about one hundred miles. Those on the east are high, bold, and in various places naked and hoary. Those on the west are somewhat inferior, and generally covered with a thick forest to their summits. The road for the three or four last miles passes through a forest, and conceals the lake from the view of the traveller, until he arrives at the eminence on which Fort George was built. Here is opened at once a prospect, the splendour of which is rarely exceeded.

The scenery of this spot may be advantageously considered under the following heads: The Water, the Islands, the Shore, and the Mountains.

The water is probably not surpassed in beauty by any in the world; pure, sweet, pellucid, of an elegant hue when immediately under the eye, and at very small as well as at greater distances, presenting a gay, luminous azure, and appearing as if a soft lustre undulated everywhere on its surface with a continual and brilliant emanation. This fine object, however, is visible only at certain times, and perhaps in particular positions. While employed on its shores, or in sailing upon its bosom, the traveller is insensibly led into an habitual and irre-

sistible consciousness of singular salubrity, sweetness, and elegance. During the mild season he finds an additional pleasure. The warmth of the water on the surface diffuses a soft and pleasing temperature, cooler in the day, and warmer in the evening, than that of the shore, and securing the traveller alike from inconvenience and disease. A fresh north wind met us in our voyage down the lake in M'Donald's Bay; and the coolness of the atmosphere became disagreeable. When we reached the river, the wind had ceased, but the cold was very sensibly augmented in a moment. When we landed, it was suddenly increased a second time.

The islands are interesting on account of their number, location, size, and figure. Their number is very great, fancifully computed at 365. Few pieces of water, and none within my knowledge, are so amply furnished. Their location is exquisite. They are solitary, in pairs, and in groups, containing from three to perhaps thirty, arranged with respect to each other and the neighbouring shores with unceasing variety, and with the happiest conceivable relations.

Both the size and the figure of these islands are varied in the same delightful manner. The size changes from a few feet to a mile and a half in length. The figure of most of them is oblong. A small number are round. But the variety of their appearance is peculiarly derived from their surface. A small number of them are naked rocks, and by the power of contrast are very interesting features in the aspect of the group. Some are partially, and most are completely, covered with vegetation. Some are bushy, others ornamented with a single tree—with two, three, or many; and those with and without their bushy attendants. Others still, the greater number, exhibit an entire forest. Some of them, of a long and narrow structure, present through various openings in their umbrage the sky, the mountains, the points, and other distant beautiful objects, changing to the eye as the traveller approaches and passes them. On some stand thick coppices, impenetrably interwoven. On a great multitude the lofty pine, with its separate boughs, lifts its head above every other tree, waving majestically in the sky. On others the beech, maple, and oak, with their clustering branches and lively ver-

dure, present the strongest examples of thrifty vegetation. At the same time, on a number not small, decayed, bare, and falling trees are finely contrasted to this vivid appearance. He, who wishes to know the exquisite and diversified beauty of which islands are capable, must, I think, cross Lake George.

The shores of this lake exhibit a similar and scarcely less striking aspect. On one part of the lake you are presented with a beach of light-coloured sand, forming a long-extended border, and showing the purity of its waters in the strongest light. On another you see a thick, dark forest, rising immediately from the rocky shore, overhanging and obscuring the water with its gloomy umbrage. Here the shore is scooped by a circular sweep. The next bend is perhaps elliptical, and the third, a mere indent. The points also are alternately circular, obtuse, and acute angles. Not a small number of them are long, narrow slips, resembling many of the islands, shooting either horizontally, or with an easy declension, far into the lake, and covered, as are all the others, with a fine variety of forest. In many places a smoothly-sloping margin, for the distance of one, two, or three miles, presents a cheerful border, as the seat of present or future cultivation. In many others, mountainous promontories ascend immediately from the water.

The beauties of the shore, and of the islands, are at least doubled by being imaged in the fine expanse below, where they are seen in perpetual succession, depending with additional exquisiteness of form and firmness of colouring.

The mountains, as I have already remarked, consist of two great ranges, bordering the lake from north to south. The western range, however, passes westward of the north-west bay, at the head of which a vast spur, shooting towards the south-east, forms the whole of the peninsula between that bay and the lake. On the latter it abuts with great majesty in a sudden and noble eminence, crowned with two fine summits. From this spot, fourteen miles from Fort George, it accompanies the lake uninterruptedly to the north end, and then passes on towards Canada. Both these ranges alternately approach the lake, so as to constitute a considerable part of its shores, and recede from it to the distance sometimes of three miles. They are visible, also, in smaller portions and greater,

from one to twenty miles in length. Generally they are covered entirely with forests, but in several instances are dappled with rocks, or absolutely naked, wild, and solitary. This appearance is derived chiefly, if not wholly, from conflagrations.

The summits of these mountains are of almost every figure, from the arch to the bold bluff and sharp cone; and this variety is almost everywhere visible. In some instances they are bald, solemn, and forbidding; in many others tufted with lofty trees. While casting his eye over them, the traveller is fascinated with the immense variety of swells, undulations, slopes, and summits, pointed and arched with their piny crowns, now near, verdant, and vivid; then gradually receding and becoming more obscure, until the scene closes in misty confusion. Nor is he less awed and gratified with the sudden promontory, the naked cliff, the stupendous precipice, the awful chasm, the sublime and barren eminence, and the vast heaps of rude and rocky grandeur which he sees thrown together in confusion, and piled upon each other by the magnificent hand of nature.

The three best points of view are Fort George, a station a little north of Shelving Rock, fourteen miles, and another at Sabbath-day Point, twenty-one miles from the head of the lake. The last view is to be taken southward; the other two northward.

From Fort George the best prospect is taken of the lake itself, which is here seen to the distance of fourteen miles, together with the north-west bay. Here the mountains on both sides are visible twenty-five miles. Six fine islands are also in full view; and the mountain at the end of the peninsula, which I shall take the liberty to call *Mount Putnam*, rises in the back ground with the utmost advantage, as does Shelving Rock, a promontory shooting out from the east far into the lake.

The scenes of the two remaining prospects are, however, clearly superior to these, both in beauty and variety. The islands are far more numerous and varied, the shores more diversified, the promontories more frequent and abrupt, the summits more lofty and masculine. Between these views I was unable to form a preference.

From Sabbath-day point, advancing northward, the scenery evidently declines in beauty. Still it is fine; and some of it

exquisite. Rogers' Rock* and Anthony's Nose†, uncouth as the latter name may seem, are among the most interesting objects in the whole group. Even at the north end the land-

* Rogers' Rock rises on the western side of the lake, a naked, bold, and rough promontory, of a very fine figure. Our guide informed us, that it derived its name from the following facts. Major Rogers, who commanded a party of rangers in the last Canadian war, and who, with very little merit, acquired by his activity a considerable reputation, was attacked on this height by a body of Indians, and defeated. With his usual adroitness, and, when his personal safety was concerned, with his usual success, he escaped down a narrow and steep valley at the south end of the rock, thirty or forty rods from the precipice which abuts upon the lake. The Indians supposed him to have fallen down the precipice, and therefore gave over the pursuit. Rogers made his way on the ice, near the shore, to a garrison kept at a little distance on Friends' Point; but, according to his usual fortune, lost a great part of his men. Colonel Cochrane, then young, and an officer in Rogers's corps, made his escape in the same way, together with several others. This gentleman, being employed to run the line between the counties of Essex and Washington, told his attendants, when he came to this rock, that he would show them a tree in which was lodged a musket-ball shot at himself between thirty and forty years before, in this rencounter. Accordingly he pointed out the tree, and his men cut out the ball.

† "Anthony's Nose" seems to have been a favourite name with the former inhabitants of this state, for mountains distinguished by bold precipices. There is a mountain of this name on the Hudson, forming the southern limit of the high lands on that river; two more on the Mohawk, and a fourth on this lake. The first and last are lofty summits, faced with perpendicular precipices. As I am very little versed in legendary lore, I know not whether the nose of St. Anthony was or was not so remarkably precipitous as in a striking manner to resemble the figure of these mountains. Something extraordinary must have induced the inhabitants of New-York to make them perpetual memorials of the shape and size of this prominence on the face of the saint.

Some years before our excursion, a fisherman was pursuing his business near the foot of this mountain; when a huge rock fell from the precipice, and, plunging into the lake at a little distance from his canoe, came very near sinking him by the surge which it produced.

On a rock opposite to Anthony's Nose, our guide, who had seen them, informed us, that there were about a dozen mortars, wrought in the solid stone by the Indians, for the purpose of pounding their corn; some of them are capable of containing half a barrel, and others of inferior capacities down to half a peck. They are very smooth, and exactly circular.

Such a mortar exists on a summit of a high rock in the parish of Greenfield, Connecticut. If I remember right, it would contain about three gallons. The rock is hard granite, and by Indians must have been formed with great difficulty.

scape is of a superior cast, and in most other regions would present uncommon attractions.

The whole scenery of this lake is greatly enhanced in beauty and splendour by the progressive change, which the traveller, sailing on its bosom, perpetually finds in his position, and by the unceasing variegations of light and shade, which attend his progress. The gradual and the sudden openings of scoops and basins, of islands and points, of promontories and summits; the continual change of their forms, and their equally gradual or sudden disappearance, impart to every object a brilliancy, life, and motion, scarcely inferior to that which is seen in the images formed by the camera obscura, and in strength and distinctness greatly superior. Light and shade are here not only far more diversified, but are much more obvious, intense, and glowing, than in smooth, open countries. Every thing, whether on the land or water, was here affected by the changes of the day; and the eye, without forecast, found itself, however disposed on ordinary occasions to inattention, instinctively engaged and fastened with emotions approximating to rapture. The shadows of the mountains, particularly on the west, floating slowly over the bosom of the lake, and then softly ascending that of the mountains on the east, presented to us, in a wide expanse, the uncommon and most pleasing image of one vast range of mountains slowly moving up the ascent of another.

As a specimen of the peculiar variegation of light in this region, you may take the following. On Thursday the 30th of September, a little before the setting of the sun, I saw one of the mountains on the east arrayed in the most brilliant purple, which can be imagined. Nothing could surpass the lustre which overspread this magnificent object, and which was varied through innumerable tints and softenings of that gorgeous colour.

The dim lights, frequently seen in the night upon the shore, sometimes of candles, feebly starring the midnight gloom of the forest, and sometimes of fires, glimmering from fields and mountains, presented a strong contrast to the cheerful splendour of the day.

On the evening of Friday, the 1st of October, while we were returning from Ticonderoga, we were presented with a prospect superior to any which I ever beheld. An opening

lay before us between the mountains on the west and those on the east, gilded by the departing sunbeams. The lake, alternately glossy and gently rippled, of a light and exquisite sapphire, gay and brilliant with the tremulous lustre, already mentioned, floating upon its surface, stretched in prospect to a vast distance through a great variety of larger and smaller apertures. In the chasm, formed by the mountains, lay a multitude of islands, differing in size, shape, and umbrage, and clothed in deeply-shaded green. Beyond them, and often partly hidden behind the tall and variously-figured trees, with which they were tufted, rose in the west and south-west a long range of distant mountains, tinged with a deep, misty azure, and crowned with an immense succession of lofty pines. Above the mountains, and above each other, were extended in great numbers, long, streaming clouds, of the happiest forms, and painted with red and orange light, in all their diversities of tincture. Between them the sky was illumined with a vivid, yellow lustre. The tall trees on the western mountains lifted their heads in the crimson glory, and on this back-ground displayed their diversified forms with a distinctness and beauty never surpassed. On a high, and exactly semi-circular summit, the trees, ascending far without limbs, united their crowns above, and thus formed a majestic and extensive arch in the sky; dark, exactly defined, and exactly corresponding with the arch of the summit below. Between this crown and the mountain, the vivid orange light, shining through the grove, formed a third arch, equally extended and elegantly striped with black by the stems of the trees.

Directly over the gap, which I have mentioned, and through which this combination of beauty was presented to us, the moon, far southward, in her handsomest crescent, sat on the eastern, and the evening star on the western side of the opening, at exactly equal distances from the bordering mountains, and, shining from a sky perfectly pure and serene, finished the prospect.

The crimson lustre, however, soon faded. The mountains lost their gilding, and the clouds, changing their fine glow into a dull, leaden-coloured hue, speedily vanished. The lake, though still brilliant, became misty and dim. The splendour of the moon and of Hesper increased and trembled on its sur-

face, until they both retired behind the western mountains, and, just as we reached the shore, left the world to the darkness of night.

To complete the scenery of this lake, the efforts of cultivation are obviously wanting. The hand of the husbandman has already begun to clear these grounds; and will, at no great distance of time, adorn them with all the smiling scenes of agriculture. It does not demand the gift of prophecy to foresee, that the villas of opulence and refinement will, within half a century, add here all the elegances of art to the beauty and majesty of nature.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Battle of Lake George. General Johnson wounded. General Lyman takes the command of the English Army, and defeats the French. Vindication of General Lyman's Character. Hendrick, Chief of the Mohawks. Baron Dieskau.

DEAR SIR;

WHEN I began this journey, I had two principal objects in view. One was to examine the scenery of Lake George, the beauty of which had always been mentioned to me in strong terms of admiration: the other, to explore the grounds, on which the military events of former times had taken place, at its two extremities. The first of these events was the battle, fought at the head of Lake George, September 8th, 1755, between the provincial troops under the command of Major-General, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, aided by a body of Indians, led by the celebrated Hendrick; and a body of French, Canadians, and Indians, commanded by Monsieur le Baron de Dieskau. This nobleman arrived from France, in company with Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, and brought with him from Brest 3,000 regular troops, destined to act under his command against the British colonies. Of these six hundred were taken, with the Lys and Alcide men of war, by Admiral Boscawen. A thousand were left at Louisburgh. The remainder were landed at Quebec. The baron was instructed to reduce Oswego, a fortification on the south side of Lake Ontario, and on the eastern side of the river Oswego, or Onondaga. This fortress was of considerable importance, from its position in the country of the Iroquois; and enabled the English in a great measure to exclude the French from any very dangerous communication

with that people. In obedience to these instructions he proceeded directly to Montreal, and, having dispatched seven hundred men up the river St. Lawrence, made preparations to follow them. Before his departure, however, intelligence reached that city, that a considerable army was assembling at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, now Lake George, with an intention to reduce Fort Frederic, since called Crown Point, and perhaps to invade Canada. At a council, convened upon this news, Baron Dieskau was vehemently solicited, and with no small difficulty prevailed upon, to direct his course up Lake Champlain. At Fort Frederic he waited some time for the arrival of the English army; but finding no prospect of their approach, determined to go and seek them. Accordingly, he embarked with 2,000 men in batteaux, and landed at the head of South-Bay, in the township of Skeensborough, now Whitehall; about sixteen or eighteen miles from Sandy-Hill, and, in the route which he took, about twenty-eight or thirty from the head of Lake George. An English prisoner, taken by his scouts, informed him, that Fort Edward, then called Fort Lyman (from Major-General Lyman, under whose direction this fortress had been erected the preceding summer), was defenceless, and that the army of General Johnson was in the same state, being without fortifications and without cannon. Upon this information Dieskau determined immediately to attack the fort. As soon as he formed his determination, he explained to his troops the advantages of the proposed measure, which was certainly worthy of his military character. Had the design succeeded, and in the infant state of the works, it would in all probability have been successful, the army under Johnson would have been cut off from all supplies, and must either have marched immediately back and fought the enemy, then formidable by success, as well as numbers and skill, furnished with cannon and other supplies from the fort, and choosing his own ground for action, or they must have surrendered at discretion. The great body of his troops, however, consisting of Canadians and Indians, were ill-fitted to comprehend a measure of this magnitude, and as little disposed to venture upon its execution. Either they had been informed, or they suspected, that the fort was defended by cannon; objects of peculiar dread to both these classes of men. In spite

of the exhortations of their commander, they absolutely refused to advance against the fort, but professed their readiness, at the same time, to attack the army under Johnson, entirely destitute, as the Baron had told them, and as he himself believed, of both cannon and works. In vain did he attempt to overcome their reluctance. There was, therefore, no alternative left, but either to attack Johnson, or to retrace his course to South-Bay. Without hesitation he marched his army towards the head of Lake George.

General Johnson's first intimation of the approach of his enemy had been given by a scout, who discovered the French army on their march from South-Bay towards Fort Edward. Upon the receipt of this intelligence he dispatched several messengers to advertise Colonel Blanchard, who commanded that fortress, of his danger.

On the night of Sunday, September 7th, at twelve o'clock, information was brought, that the enemy had advanced four miles on the road from Fort Edward* to Lake George, or half way between the village of Sandy-Hill and Glen's Falls. A council of war was held early in the morning, at which it was resolved to send a party to meet them. The number of men determined upon at first was mentioned by the general to Hendrick, and his opinion was asked. He replied, "If they are to fight, they are too few. If they are to be killed, they are too many." The number was accordingly increased. General Johnson also proposed to divide them into three parties. Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said to him, "Put these together, and you can't break them. Take them one by one, and you will break them easily." The hint succeeded, and Hendrick's sticks saved the party, and probably the whole army from destruction†.

The party detached consisted of twelve hundred, and were commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, whose character has been already given in these Letters; a brave and skilful officer, greatly beloved by the soldiery, and greatly respected by the country at large. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of New-

* Then commonly styled "the carrying place," and, "the great carrying place."

† This fact I had from Joseph Burt, Esq., of Westmoreland, New York, who was on the spot.

Haven, was second in command, and brought up the rear. Colonel Williams met the enemy at Rocky Brook, four miles from Lake George. Dieskau had been informed of his approach by his scouts, and arranged his men in the best possible order to receive them, extending his line on both sides of the road in the form of a half-moon. Johnson did not begin to raise his breast-work until after Williams had marched; nor, as a manuscript account of this transaction, now before me, declares, until after the rencounter between Williams and the enemy had begun.

Williams marched his men directly into the hollow of the half-moon. This will be explained by the fact, that the whole country was a deep forest. When the enemy saw them completely within his power, he opened a fire of musketry on the front and on both flanks of the English at the same moment. The English fell in heaps, and at the head of them their gallant commander. Hendrick also was mortally wounded, fighting with invincible courage in the front of his people. He was shot in the back, a fact which filled him with disdain and anguish, as he thought that he should be believed to have fled from the enemy. The truth was, the horns of the half-moon were so far advanced, that they in a great measure inclosed the van of the English, and fired upon them from the rear. From this fire Hendrick received the wound, which terminated his life*.

Upon the death of Colonel Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting succeeded to the command of the detachment. He was an officer of great merit, and had gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh†; and, in consequence of his gallant conduct at that siege, had been made a captain in the regular British service. Whiting, seeing the danger of his men, immediately ordered a retreat, and conducted it so judiciously, that he saved the great body of them from destruction, in circumstances of extreme peril, in which their own confusion and

* In General Johnson's official account of the action, he styles him "old Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem." In the manuscript account he is declared to have been a "valiant warrior, and a faithful friend."

† Review of the military operations in North America from 1753 to 1756, ascribed to the late Governor Livingston.

alarm, and the situation of the ground, threatened their extermination no less than the superior numbers of the enemy.

The noise of the first fire was heard at Lake George. Efforts began then to be made in earnest by the general for the defence of the camp, and a party of three hundred men were dispatched under Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, to support the retreating corps. A few stragglers, both English and Indians, came into the camp, and announced what had indeed been already sufficiently evident from the approaching sound of the musketry, that the French army was superior in numbers and strength to Colonel Williams's corps, and was driving them towards the camp. Some time after "the whole party that escaped," says General Johnson*, "came in, in large bodies;" a decisive proof of the skill and coolness with which Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting conducted this retreat. These men also arranged themselves in their proper places, and took their share in the engagement which followed.

About half-after eleven o'clock the enemy appeared in sight, marching up the road in the best order towards the centre of the English. When they came to the bottom of an open valley, directly in front of the elevation on which Fort George was afterwards built, and on which the centre of the English army was posted, Dieskau halted his men about fifteen minutes, at the distance of little more than one hundred and fifty yards from the breast-work. I have never seen a reason assigned for this measure. I think I can assign one. The Indians were sent out on the right flank, and a part of the Canadians on the left, intending to come in upon the rear of the English, while the main body attacked them in front. The ground was remarkably favourable to this design, being swampy, thickly forested, and therefore perfectly fitted to conceal the approach of these parties. The Indians, however, were soon discovered by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, who immediately mentioned the fact to the general, and observing to him, that these people were extremely afraid of cannon, requested that one or two pieces might be pointed against them.

* Official letter.

They were then near the ground on which Fort William Henry was afterwards built. The general approved of the proposal. A shell was instantly thrown among them from a howitzer, and some field pieces showered upon them a quantity of grape shot. The Indians fled.

'The Baron, in the mean time, led up his main body to attack the centre. They began the engagement by firing regularly in platoons, but at so great a distance, that they did very little execution. This circumstance was favourable to the English; and, soon recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown by the preceding events of the day, they fought with great spirit and firmness.

'General Johnson, at the commencement of the battle, received a flesh wound in his thigh, and the ball lodged in it. He bled freely, but was able to walk away from the army to his tent*. General Lyman then took the command, and continued in it during the action. This gentleman, who seemed to have no passions, except those which are involved in the word humanity, immediately stationed himself in the front of the breast-work †, and there, amid the thickest danger, issued his orders, during five hours, to every part of the army, as occasion demanded, with a serenity, which many covet, and some boast, but very few acquire. The main body of the French kept their ground, and preserved their order for a considerable time; but the artillery, under the command of Captain Eyre, a brave English officer, who performed his part with much skill and reputation, played upon them with such success, and the fire from the musketry was so warm and well-directed, that their ranks were soon thinned, and their efforts slackened sufficiently to show that they despaired of success in this quarter. They then made another effort against the right of the English, stationed between the road and the site of Fort William Henry, and composed of Ruggles's regiment, Williams's now, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, and Titcomb's. Here a warm fire was kept up on both sides about an hour, but on the part of the enemy was unavailing.

'At four o'clock the English, and the Indians who fought with them, leaped over their breast-work, and charged the enemy.

* Mr. Burt. † Colonel Pomeroy.

They fled, and were vigorously pursued for a short distance. A considerable number were slain in the pursuit. The wounded, and a very few others, were made prisoners. Among these was Dieskau. He was found by a soldier resting on a stump, with hardly an attendant. As he was feeling for his watch, in order to give it to the soldier, the man, suspecting that he was searching for a pistol, discharged the contents of his musket through his hips. He was carried into the camp in a blanket by eight men, with the greatest care and tenderness, but evidently in extreme distress *.

Sound policy would have directed an immediate and continued pursuit of the enemy. General Lyman urged this measure with a warmth which he rarely exhibited †. Had his opinion been followed, there is little reason to doubt, that the whole body would have either been destroyed or taken prisoners; for they were exhausted by their fatigues on this and the two preceding days. It is said that Baron Dieskau, after he was brought into the camp, informed General Johnson, that he had a body of troops in reserve, who would speedily renew the attack: and Johnson, in his official letter, says, "The enemy may rally, and we judge they have considerable forces near at hand." He also mentions his men as greatly fatigued, and says, "For these reasons I don't think it either prudent or safe to be sending out parties in search of the dead." Soon after he adds, "I think we may expect very shortly a more formidable attack, and that the enemy will then come with artillery." In the very able Review, to which I have before referred, written without any reasonable doubt by the late Governor Livingston, in concert with his two celebrated friends, the Hon. William Smith, late chief justice of the province of Canada, and the Hon. John Morin Scott, there are some very severe, and I apprehend very just, remarks on these declarations, which very forcibly and conclusively attribute the conduct of General Johnson to his sloth and timidity. It is not however to be forgotten, that he was wounded.

There is another part of his conduct which admits of no excuse. This is, that he gave General Lyman no credit for his important services on this day. It is remarkable, that he

* Mr. Burt. † Review.

does not even mention his name in the official letter which conveyed the intelligence of his victory to the governors of the neighbouring colonies; although he perfectly knew, that to the gallant exertions of that gentleman he was indebted for all the glory which he had acquired. Lyman was in every respect, and was undoubtedly felt by Johnson to be, his superior. He had received an enlightened education; was distinguished for learning and science; held a high rank at the bar, and a high station in civil life; was dignified in his person and manners; serene in danger, and exceedingly beloved by his soldiers. Johnson was an uneducated adventurer; of little consequence in his own country; and suddenly raised to distinction in this, by the aid of some powerful friends, to whom he made himself convenient by his native energy, shrewdness, and activity, and by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. His ambition, at the same time, was vast; his avarice greedy; and his moral susceptibility, if it had ever existed, principally gone. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he should feel the canker of jealousy towards his rival, realized in spite of his selfishness to be so much his superior.

All men, who resemble Johnson in character, and who are placed in similar circumstances, regularly make it a primary object to attach to themselves, as subordinate agents to carry on their dirty business, a small circle of persons, needy, dependent, willing to be tools, feeling it as an honour to be thus employed, flexible to their masters, secret, active, destitute of principle, ready to say whatever they are ordered to say, and to do whatever they are directed to do. To these men, so long as they are necessary to them, they make a point of being so far useful as to retain them in their service. They will indeed scold them, and cuff them, and kick them. Yet they take effectual care to make them such amends for this unpleasant discipline, as to prevent them from quitting their service. Such a body of retainers Johnson had about him at this time, and employed their agency to calumniate General Lyman.

"A junto," says the able author of the Review, "combined at the camp, and framed a letter, impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage; which they pro-

cured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey, to the press;—a notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable of proceeding: so true is the poet's observation,

> ——Men, that make
> Envy, and crooked malice, nourishment,
> Dare bite the best. SHAKSPEARE.

For in reality no man, my lord, behaved with more magnanimity than the unfortunate object of their jealousy; and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason, why this much-injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of the calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public; who accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same important post. But numbers of witnesses, eye witnesses, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depose, that by them he was seen fighting like a lion, and exposing his life in the hottest of the battle; not to mention a gentleman of undoubted veracity, to whom General Johnson, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory."

With these things before us, all of which, so far as they respect the conduct of General Lyman, had been sufficiently attested to me at an early period of my life, and long before I read this Review, what shall be said of the fact, that his name is not even mentioned in the letter referred to above. Peter Wraxall, aid de camp of General Johnson, in a letter which he wrote to Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey the second day after the battle, although so devoted to his master as to say, that "he was wounded in the hip, yet kept the field, though in great pain;" when he was actually wounded in the thigh, and quitted the field, still felt himself obliged to add, in a post-script, "General Lyman, and all the officers, behaved with distinguished conduct and courage*." At the same time, and intelligence sent by express from Albany to New-York, and

* Pennsylvania Gazette, September 18th, 1755.

received the Sunday following the battle, it is said, "The brave General Lyman (who has added honour to the province in whose service he is) is well." Such was the conviction of the country at the time, and such was the truth. I will not now ask you what opinion ought to be formed of the scandalous "junto" who wrote and published the libel above mentioned; their miserable agent, Cole, who subscribed it; and General Johnson himself, by whom we have every reason to believe it was both devised and approved.

The conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to provide any fortifications for his army during the fortnight in which he had already been on this ground; to bring up his cannon; to keep scouts abroad, who might inform him of the designs of the enemy; to pursue them after their defeat; and to proceed in the important business of building a strong fort; met with severe reprehension from sensible men at the time. "That an army," says Thomas Williams, Esq., a very respectable physician, then acting as surgeon in Colonel Williams's regiment, in a letter to the Hon. William Williams, of Dalton, "that an army should lie here a fortnight in an enemy's country, without the least fortification, is to me very surprising; but that they should still continue in this defenceless posture, after they had heard of an (enemy's) army not far off, is more surprising." "I cannot help thinking," says the author of the Review, "that had the general begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued." And again, "By this (the official) letter, he appears so conscious of deserving reprehension rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy," &c. "The English did not pursue the victory as they might."—(*MS. account.*)

Colonel Whiting was censured by some of his countrymen for retreating. A person who has examined the ground will be slow to admit this opinion. The French army had every advantage which they could wish. They flanked Colonel Williams's corps on both sides, and greatly outnumbered them. Colonel Williams unhappily sent out no scouts, and in this acted contrary to the whole tenour of his military career and

his favourite maxims*. The importance of scouts in military enterprises, carried on in forested grounds, needs no explanation: nor can it be necessary for me to observe, that such a corps, so situated, must have been in the most imminent hazard of total destruction. Not to have retreated in this situation would have been delirious; and to conduct a retreat, in these circumstances, with so much good order and success, demanded little less vigour of mind than that which has been displayed in the celebrated retreats on the eastern continent. Baron Dieskau spoke very handsomely of this movement. "Colonel Whiting," says the Pennsylvania Gazette, September 25, 1755, under the head of Albany, in an article published there after the Baron's arrival in that city, "conducted the retreat with great judgment, to the admiration of the French general, who is pleased to say, that he believes a retreat was never better conducted."

It is impossible to estimate with certainty the loss sustained by the English in this engagement. The Pennsylvania Gazette of October 9th professedly gives a return of the killed, wounded, and missing; the total of which is one hundred and six killed, ninety-four wounded, and sixty-one missing. Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, in a letter, dated the 10th of September, two days after the battle, states them in the following manner:—

Colonel Titcomb's regiment	35
Colonel Williams's regiment	50
Colonel Ruggles's regiment	37
Connecticut troops	39
Rhode-Island troops	20
New-York troops	10
Total	191

The officers slain in Colonel Williams's regiment were, Colonel Williams; Major Ashley; Captains Hawley, Porter, and Ingersoll; Lieutenants Cobb, Pomeroy, and Burt; Ensigns Stratton and Wait.

Dr. Williams states them at two hundred and sixteen dead, and ninety-six wounded, on the 26th September.

* Dr. Williams's Letter.

Still more difficult is it to determine the loss of the French. Baron Dieskau estimated them at a thousand. The English estimated them at six hundred, seven hundred, and eight hundred. If we take even the least of these numbers, the French must have fought with the utmost bravery. Few armies keep the field till one third of their number is cut down. Among those whom they lost were a French Major-General, Monsieur de St. Pierre, commander in chief of the Indians; and a number of other persons, belonging to some of the principal families in Canada*.

On their retreat, the French army was met by a party of New-Hampshire soldiers, differently estimated from eighty to one hundred and twenty, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Folsom, and joined by a body of from twenty to forty of New-York troops, under Captain M'Ginnes, at the distance of two miles from the field of battle. Here they found the baggage of the French army under the care of a guard, whom they attacked and dispersed. Towards sunset the remains of the French army began to appear. Folsom and M'Ginnes posted their men in the forest with such skill, and kept up till night a fire so well-directed, that they forced the enemy from the ground. Six men only were lost by Folsom and M'Ginnes: but the latter was wounded, and soon after died of his wounds. Both he and his companions fought with great gallantry. In consequence of this engagement, the baggage and ammunition of the French army fell into the hands of the English, and were the next morning conveyed to the camp.

Thus terminated the battle of Lake George: on many accounts a memorable event in the annals of this country. It soon followed the defeat of General Braddock on the Monongahela. This disastrous event took place on the 8th of the preceding July, and created the most painful sensations in Great Britain, as well as in the colonies. It was a period, therefore, in which success was peculiarly welcome, and produced the best effects. Had the French been victorious, they would immediately have taken possession of Fort Edward, between which and Albany there was not a single obstruction

* Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy.

to their progress; as their commander very justly declared to them, when urging them to march against that fortress. Where a stop would have been put to their career it is impossible to conjecture.

A great part of the importance of most battles lies in the impression, which they leave on the minds of the contending nations, and in the consequent energy or languor of their efforts. Few events, of no greater magnitude, leave stronger impressions than resulted from the battle of Lake George. An universal exultation was diffused through the British empire, especially through the colonies; and there is no improbability in the supposition, that the measures, afterwards adopted in a war, more glorious than any which had been recorded in the annals of Great Britain, received a part of their vigour from the battle of Lake George.

His majesty was so well pleased with the event of this battle, that he created General Johnson a baronet; and the parliament voted him a present of five thousand pounds sterling.

General Lyman, to whom the nation was indebted for the whole of these advantages, was forgotten on the eastern side of the Atlantic; or more probably was unknown as an agent in the acquisition of this victory. His only retribution was, that the government and people, whom he immediately served, disregarding the base attacks upon his character, did justice to his merits by public as well as private testimonies of their esteem, particularly by continuing him in the honourable stations, which he had before filled.

Hendrick had lived to this day with singular honour, and died fighting with a spirit not to be excelled. He was at this time from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His head was covered with white locks, and, what is uncommon among Indians, he was corpulent*. Immediately before Colonel Williams began his march, he mounted a stage, and harangued his people. He had a strong, masculine voice; and, it was thought, might be distinctly heard at the distance of half a mile: a fact, which, to my own view, has diffused a new degree of

* J. Burt, Esq.

probability over Homer's representations of the effects produced by the speeches and shouts of his heroes. Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, who was present, and heard this effusion of Indian eloquence, told me, that, although he did not understand a word of the language, yet such was the animation of Hendrick, the fire of his eye, the force of his gesture, the strength of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflexions of his voice, and the natural appearance of his whole manner, that himself was more deeply affected with this speech, than with any other which he had ever heard. In the Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 25, 1755, he is styled "the famous Hendrick, a renowned Indian warrior among the Mohawks;" and it is said, that his son, being told that his father was killed, giving the usual Indian groan upon such occasions, and suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore, that his father was still alive in that place, and that there stood his son.

Baron Dieskau was conveyed from Albany to New-York, and from thence to England, where soon after he died. He was an excellent officer, possessed very honourable feelings, and was adorned with highly polished manners. I know of but one stain upon his character. Before his engagement with Colonel Williams's corps, he gave orders to his troops neither to give nor take quarter*. As there was nothing, either in the nature of his enterprize, or in his circumstances, to justify this rigour; it is to be accounted one of those specimens of barbarity, which, it must be acknowledged, too frequently disgrace the human character.

The remainder of the campaign was idled away by General Johnson in doing nothing. A person who has examined the French works at Crown Point will perceive, that he might easily have possessed himself of this fortress, had he made the attempt, as it is entirely commanded by rising grounds in the neighbourhood. Instead of this, the French, immediately after their panic was over, erected a fortification at Ticonderoga, fifteen miles higher up Lake Champlain; and fixed themselves so much farther within the boundaries of the British possessions.

* Dr. Williams's Letter.

I have been thus minute in the history of this battle, not only on account of its inherent importance, but also because I conceive it has never been fairly and fully laid before the public. To General Lyman, particularly, justice has never been done; and but for me would probably never be done. I hope you will think this a sufficient apology for the length of the detail.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Attack on Fort William Henry. Gallant Defence by Colonel Monroe. Capitulation and Massacre. General Webb's Expedition to Ticonderoga. Retreat of the English Army. Journey continued. Dalton. Partridgefield. Worthington. Chesterfield. West-Hampton.

DEAR SIR;

I MENTIONED in a preceding Letter the situation and appearance of Fort William Henry, and observed, that it was a square structure, with regular bastions at the angles, bordered on the east and south sides by a swamp, on the west by a valley, and on the north by the beach of Lake George. On what principles such a work could have been erected in this spot is to me inexplicable. Its site is almost on a level with the waters of the lake. By the lands in the vicinity, west and north-west, it is overlooked, and perfectly commanded by the eminence on which Fort George was afterwards built. I confess myself to be an imperfect judge of military operations; but among all the fortresses of which I have any knowledge, this, so far as its situation is concerned, appears to have been the least fitted to answer the design for which it was built. To Indians it might be formidable. Against the approaches of a regular army it could furnish little protection.

In the year 1757, the Earl of Loudoun was appointed commander in chief of the British forces in America; and saw himself, at the commencement of the season, at the head of twelve thousand regular troops, and perhaps as many provincials. Instead of marching directly against the French in

Canada, as had been expected, his lordship sailed for Halifax, with six thousand men, with an intention to direct his force against Louisbourg. Here, however, he received information, that a fleet from Brest had brought a strong reinforcement to the garrison, amounting now to six thousand regulars; and that the harbour was defended by seventeen ships of the line. His lordship, therefore, gave over the expedition to Louisbourg, and in the close of August returned to New-York.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm, having obtained ample information of the situation of his enemies, proceeded with an army of eight thousand men, including a numerous body of Indians from Ticonderoga, up Lake George, to attack Fort William Henry, garrisoned at that time, as is said, with about three thousand, principally regular troops. Early in the season the Marquis had made three different attacks upon the same fortress, all of which had been defeated by the skill and courage of the garrison, and Colonel Monroe, its brave commander. To retrieve his own credit, therefore, as well as to operate against the British nation, he proceeded upon this enterprise with not a little zeal and alacrity. The first night he landed on a point, called from this fact Frenchman's point; about sixteen miles from the head of the lake. The next evening he landed again on the west side, about two miles from Fort William Henry. The following morning he appeared before the fort, and sent this letter to Colonel Monroe.

August 3d, 1757.

SIR;—I have this morning invested your place with a numerous army, a superior artillery, and all the savages from the higher parts of the country; the cruelty of which a detachment of your garrison have lately too much experienced. I am obliged in humanity to desire you to surrender your fort. I have it yet in my power to restrain the savages, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as hitherto none of them have been killed, which will not be in my power in other circumstances; and your insisting on defending your fort can only retard the loss of it a few days, and must of necessity expose an unlucky garrison, who can receive no succour, considering the precautions I have taken. I demand a decisive answer

immediately; for which purpose I have sent you the Sieur Fantbrune, one of my aid de camps. You may credit what he will inform you as from me.

I am with respect, Sir,
Your most humble,
most obedient Servant,
MONTCALM.

To this demand Monroe verbally and laconically replied to the messenger, "Tell Monsieur Montcalm, that I reject his proposal with disdain; and that I will defend the fort while I have a man able to fire a gun."

The marquis pushed his operations with vigour. Six days the fort was defended with unabated resolution, in full expectation of assistance from General Webb, who lay at Fort Edward, fifteen miles distant, with an army of four thousand men. A capitulation was therefore concluded. The principal articles stipulated were, that the public property should be surrendered to the French; that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, with their arms, baggage, and a field-piece; and that they should be protected from the outrages of the Indians. The last of these articles was violated in the most shameful manner. The garrison, instead of being protected, had marched but a little distance, when the savages fell upon them with the utmost fury, and butchered a great number of men, women, and children. Nothing could exceed the barbarity displayed in this massacre. It will be unnecessary for me to particularize these enormities, after having given you so many accounts of Indian ferocity; and it is impossible to determine the number of those who were killed. Of the New-Hampshire regiment, which brought up the rear and suffered the most, eighty were lost out of two hundred. Carver makes the whole number who were sacrificed fifteen hundred. The transaction filled the British colonies with horror. I was a little child when it took place, and distinctly remember the strong emotions which it everywhere excited, and which, hitherto, time has not been able to efface. From that day to the present it has been familiarly known by the emphatical appellation of the massacre at Fort William Henry.

Various efforts have been very complaisantly made, on both sides of the Atlantic, to exculpate the Marquis de Montcalm from the blame, which he merited in this affair. In my own view, the gentlemen concerned exhibit more of the spirit of chivalry than of equity or truth. The marquis had, the preceding year, violated the conditions on which the fort at Oswego had been surrendered to him. He had permitted the savages, on that occasion also, to insult and rob the garrison, massacre several of the men on the parade, and Lieutenant De La Court, who had been wounded in his tent, and to scalp all the sick in the hospital. To close the scene, he delivered up twenty of the garrison, in lieu of twenty Indians who had been killed, to be disposed of as these tigers in human shape should think proper. The attempt to vindicate such a man as this violates every feeling of justice and humanity, and certainly must be a very idle employment. On the present occasion, either no guard at all, or none that was at all competent, was furnished to the prisoners. Nor does it appear that a single effort was made by the French general to preserve them. On the contrary, the marquis, although he would not probably have butchered them himself, was more willing to yield up these unhappy people to plunder and death, than to hazard offending his Indian allies. That he could have restrained these wretches there cannot be a rational doubt. Let those, who question it, remember that he was at the head of at least seven thousand men, and that he could have given the prisoners a sufficient guard without any inconvenience to himself, as he had solemnly stipulated. Had he possessed the smallest share of humanity or honour, the prisoners, taken at Oswego, and at Fort William Henry, would have been effectually preserved from plunder, scalping, and death. That the marquis was brave no well-informed man can doubt. His faithlessness and inhumanity are equally indubitable*.

* Had these been solitary cases I should have hardly thought it proper to insist on them. This, however, is very far from being the fact.

In the year 1693, the commandant of Michilmackinac, finding that the Dionondadies had thoughts of making peace with the Six Nations, gave them a public invitation to feast on the soup, which was to be made of a prisoner whom the Dionondadies had delivered up to the French. The Outawais, or Utawawas, were in a particular manner invited to the enter-

The gallantry and good conduct of Colonel Monroe merit the highest praise. He began the defence of this fort with the fullest expectations of assistance from General Webb. That officer had four thousand men at Fort Edward, and had received timely notice of the danger, which threatened Colonel Monroe. Six days after this notice was given, the fort held out. A person, who has been on this ground, and walked over its environs, will be astonished, that it was not surrendered at the first summons, and not less astonished, that a fort was ever erected on such a spot. Had it been erected where Fort George afterwards stood, at the distance of little more than two furlongs, and been properly furnished with provisions and other means of defence, Montcalm would have been compelled to return without accomplishing his object.

By a letter in my possession, written from Albany, August 15th, by a gentleman, who was at Fort Edward on the 9th, the day of the surrender, it appears, that a council of war was held by Colonel Monroe that morning. It was then announced, that no succour could be expected, and that ten pieces of artillery had been burst during the defence; and those the largest in the possession of the garrison. It was determined, therefore, that any further efforts to resist the enemy would be useless.

tainment. The story of the tortures inflicted on this miserable man, as recited by Dr. Colden, is too long to be copied in this note. Suffice it to say, that a Frenchman began the tragedy by broiling the flesh of the prisoner from his toes to his knees with the red-hot barrel of a gun, and that, as he became tired, he was relieved by others in succession; that to another part of his body they applied a red-hot frying-pan; that one of the company split a furrow from his shoulder to the garter, and, filling it with gun-powder, set fire to it; that, when his throat became so parched as to prevent him from crying out, they gave him water, that he might continue his cries; that they then took off his scalp, and threw burning coals upon his skull; and that, having finally knocked him on the head with a stone, every one cut a slice from his body, to conclude the tragedy with a feast.

In 1690, the Count de Frontenac, the ablest governor whom the French ever sent to Canada, a nobleman of high distinction, a man of letters, and educated in a polished court, condemned two prisoners of the Iroquois to be burnt to death at Montreal, in order to terrify their countrymen. One of these unhappy men escaped from the agonies intended for him by putting an end to his own life. The other, under the eye of this very nobleman, was tortured in a manner still more excruciating than that which has been recited.—*Colden*, vol. 1, p. 143, 145, 194, 195.

The same writer declares, that Colonels Monroe and Y[redacted] with several officers and about three hundred men, some whom had been rescued by Montcalm from the savages, were with the French army after the massacre; having, as the letter-writer supposes, returned, in order to escape from the butchery.

The character of General Webb will never be cleansed from the stain which was left upon it by the part which he took in these transactions. Although he perfectly knew the situation of the garrison, yet he neither sent them assistance, nor communicated to the country the knowledge of their danger. It deserves to be known, that Sir William Johnson, after very importunate solicitations, obtained leave from General Webb to march with as many of the provincials at Fort Edward, then under his immediate command, as would volunteer in the service, to the relief of Monroe. At the beat of the drum the provincials turned out, nearly to a man, and immediately made themselves ready to march. After they had been under arms almost the whole day, Sir William, returning from head quarters, informed the soldiers, that the general had forbidden them to march. The soldiers were inexpressibly mortified; and, while they were manifesting their indignation by groans, the tears trickled copiously down the cheeks of their commander, as he turned from the troops towards his tent*.

Webb appears evidently to have taken his determination from the beginning; and, whether he acted from fear, or according to his judgment, remained immovable. Instead of sending a body of troops to relieve the garrison, he wrote a letter to Colonel Monroe, advising him to surrender the fort. Two more absolutely inefficient men, than the Earl of Loudoun and General Webb, have rarely been employed in important military commands, in the same country, during the same campaign.

The campaign of the preceding year closed on the side of the English with absolute disgrace. That of the following year was opened in this region with an attempt to reduce the fortress of Ticonderoga. For this purpose ten thousand provincial troops, and between six and seven thousand regulars,

* This anecdote I received from Captain Noble, who was present at the whole scene.

assembled at the head of Lake George, in the beginning of July, under the command of General Abercrombie. On the 5th the whole army, except a reserve left for the protection of this spot, embarked in a thousand and thirty-five boats, with all the splendour of military parade. The morning was remarkably bright and beautiful, and the fleet moved with exact regularity to the sound of fine martial music; the ensigns waved and glittered in the sun-beams, and the anticipation of future triumph shone in every eye. Above, beneath, around, the scenery was that of enchantment; and rarely has the sun, since that luminary was first lighted up in the heavens, dawned on such a complication of beauty and magnificence.

The next morning the army landed at the north end of the lake without opposition, at the very spot where we moored our boat; and, formed in four columns, began their march towards Ticonderoga. A person, who has seen this ground at the present time, will easily believe, that, when the forests were standing, such an order of march was impracticable. Accordingly, under the direction of unskilful guides, and by means of the interruption presented by the forests, they fell into confusion. At this moment Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, who, at the approach of the English army, had fled from the landing, and were making their escape towards Ticonderoga. This party had, also, been bewildered in the forest and lost their way. They immediately fired upon the English, and at the first discharge killed Lord Howe. The suddenness of the attack, the sound of the war-hoop, and the fall of their commander, threw the centre column into confusion. The provincials, however, being versed in this mode of fighting, resolutely attacked and destroyed the party. Near three hundred of them were killed, and a hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, with the loss of very few on the side of the English. The loss of Lord Howe was, however, that of a host. This young nobleman assembled in his person an almost singular combination of excellencies. To superior talents, courage, activity, and exactness of discipline, he added an exalted spirit, expansive generosity, accomplished and engaging manners, and peculiar sweetness of disposition. He was at once the soul and idol of the army, and is still remem-

bered in this country with an attachment, which will scarcely be obliterated for a long period to come.

The troops were remanded to the landing. The next day, July 6th, Colonel Bradstreet was detached to take possession of a mill, at the great fall on the outlet of Lake George, mentioned above, and the principal engineer was sent to reconnoitre the entrenchments of the enemy.

The fortress of Ticonderoga stands at a small distance from the shore of Lake Champlain, on a peninsula, washed on one side by the outlet of Lake George, here a considerable creek, and on the other by a cove, setting back from Lake Champlain. The French lines were drawn across the peninsula, at its junction with the main, and were defended by two redoubts, and by a strong and very deep abattis without. They are said by historians to have been eight or nine feet high. When I saw them they were not more than four, and I greatly doubt whether they ever were six.

The engineer returned with a report, that the works, being unfinished, might be attempted with a fair prospect of success. Dispositions were accordingly made for the attack. The army marched up to the works with a resolution worthy of better circumstances. In their approach they were perfectly exposed to the whole fire of an enemy completely covered. In this situation the abattis proved an almost insuperable hindrance to these gallant men, in their attempts to reach the lines. Over this dreadful obstacle they made their way so slowly, that the French had time to shoot them at their leisure. Three times they were repulsed, and as often returned to the charge. At the end of four hours, however, after a series of efforts which would have done honour to the soldiers of Cæsar, and an exhibition of courage which rivalled the most romantic days of chivalry, the army was ordered to retire. No corps suffered so much as the Highlanders. These intrepid men mounted the works three successive times, and drove the enemy from that part of them which was in their course*. Had they been supported (a thing perhaps impossible), the works would probably have been carried.

* Letter from Lake George, written by an officer after the return of the army to that place, July 10th, and published in the New American Magazine.

The loss of the English on this occasion amounted in killed, wounded, and missing, to nineteen hundred and forty-four. It fell chiefly on the regulars, to whom the attack was principally entrusted. The French lost three or four officers and a small number of privates.

The garrison is commonly said by historians to have consisted of six thousand men. A plain, sensible Frenchman, who was a serjeant on the ground at the time of the attack, told an acquaintance of mine, that the whole number was but twelve hundred; that not one of them dreamed of being able to defend the works; that they, however, determined to make a show of defence, till they should see what measures the English would take; and that, when they saw them marching up with such a naked exposure to their cannon, they began to believe that they should give a good account of them. "But," he added, "the attempt seemed to the garrison so destitute of common sense, that they could hardly believe their own eyes when they saw the English army approach."

General Abercrombie, during the battle, remained at the saw-mill mentioned above, which is about two miles from the lines. Of course he saw no part of the engagement, took no part in regulating the movements of his army, and might as well have been in England as at the saw-mill. Immediately after the troops had quitted the lines he directed them to return to Fort George, where they arrived on the evening of the succeeding day.

Probably there was never a more ill-devised and ill-conducted enterprise. This opinion I had heard given by my own countrymen of all descriptions from my childhood. The retreat of General St. Clair, at the approach of General Burgoyne, has also been justified, because it was said the works of Ticonderoga were untenable, being commanded by Mount Independence, in Vermont, and by Sugar-Hill, or Mount Defiance, which rises south of the outlet of Lake George. I had the curiosity to look at this ground for my own satisfaction. Two cannon from Sugar-Hill would have probably driven the French both from the lines and the fort, and General Burgoyne proved afterwards, that there would have been no difficulty in conveying them to the summit. A single hour would have been amply sufficient to have swept the

peninsula clean. It is a melancholy reflection, that between five and six hundred brave men were killed outright; that so many more died of their wounds as to make the whole number one thousand; that five hundred more were probably made cripples through life; and that upwards of four hundred more were obliged to suffer pain from their wounds, often excruciating, and sometimes long continued, in a fruitless attempt to accomplish that, which one hundred men might have accomplished without the loss of a single life, and without even a wound.

But the truth is, General Abercrombie examined nothing with his own eyes, and never went near enough to the scene of action to know what could and what could not be done, with either success or safety. His orders were given in consequence of hearsay accounts. Not a cannon was brought up to the lines. The weak, unfinished parts of them, where a breach might have been made, were neglected; and the parts, which had been effectually secured, were chosen as the place of attack.

The retreat was almost as unhappy, and quite as causeless. The army still consisted of fourteen thousand effective men, while the whole force of the enemy, at the utmost computation, certainly amounted to little more than three. Not a doubt, therefore, could be rationally entertained concerning the reduction of Ticonderoga, if the siege should be prosecuted with prudence and vigour.

During the campaign of the preceding year, Colonel Bradstreet, a brave and active officer, who had defeated a party of the French and savages, having learned from some prisoners, which he took during the engagement, that the Marquis de Montcalm was proceeding towards Oswego, gave immediate intelligence of the danger to General Abercrombie, then at Albany, with an army under his command of near ten thousand men. The only effect of this intelligence, which was received early in July, was to excite a little talk about relieving Oswego, without a single effort made for that purpose until the 12th of August. Then General Webb left Albany with a body of troops, and began his march towards the post of danger. On the 14th the fort was surrendered. This conduct left a deep stain upon the character of General Abercrombie.

The transactions at Ticonderoga rendered this stain indelible. The general was pronounced to be in his dotage; the attack on the French to have been delirious; and the retreat to have been the combined result of folly and fear.

The remainder of the campaign was, in this quarter, spent in doing nothing.

We spent Sunday, October 3d, at Saratoga.

On Monday morning, October 4th, we proceeded across the Hudson, through Easton and Cambridge, to Hoosac Falls, where we lodged.

We left Hoosac in the morning, and proceeded to Williamstown, and thence directly to Pittsfield. The next day we reached Worthington, through Dalton and Partridgefield. The next day we proceeded to Northampton, and thence at our leisure returned to New-Haven.

Every thing of any importance in this part of our journey has been already described, except what relates to Dalton, Partridgefield, Worthington, Chesterfield, and West-Hampton.

Dalton lies in the valley of the Hooestennuc. It was anciently a part of Pittsfield, and was incorporated March 20th, 1784. Its surface is either level, or formed of very moderate elevations. The soil is good. The inhabitants live dispersed on plantations throughout the township, and form one congregation. In the year 1790, their number amounted to 554; in 1800, to 859; and, in 1810, to 779. The township is small.

Partridgefield is the first township on the western ridge of the Green Mountains in this quarter. The elevation on which it lies is lofty. The surface is not destitute of beauty, and is universally distributed into farms. The soil is cold, but otherwise tolerably good, producing grass in abundance. The inhabitants have built themselves a good church, and a few of them have good houses.

This township is commonly believed to have a severer climate than any other in this state. The snow falls and lies earlier, and continues later, than on most parts even of these mountains. The summer is short and cool, not unfrequently so much so as not to ripen maize. Partridgefield was in

corporated in 1771, and contains a Presbyterian and a Baptist congregation. In 1790 it contained 1,041 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,361. In 1804, the township of Hinsdale was taken partly from Partridgefield and partly from Dalton. In 1810, Peru, the name given to the remaining part of Partridgefield, contained 912, and Hinsdale 822. In the year 1800, Partridgefield and Dalton contained 2,220; and, in 1810, the three townships contained 2,513.

Worthington lies immediately east of Partridgefield, in the middle of the Green Mountain range, and is one of the best townships found in this elevated region. Its surface is handsome and pleasant, and its soil rich. It yields wheat in considerable quantities, has a plenty of fruit, and furnishes excellent cider for the market. The inhabitants have built a considerable number of good houses along the road, and hold a respectable standing for industry, good order, morals, and religion. Worthington was incorporated in 1768, and contains one Presbyterian congregation. In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 1,116; in 1800, 1,223; and, in 1810, 1,391.

Chesterfield lies on the eastern border of Worthington, and occupies the eastern ridge of the Green Mountains in this quarter. The surface of this township is less pleasant, and the soil less rich than those of Worthington. It is, however, very productive of grass. In most respects it differs little from the preceding townships.

Near the western border of Chesterfield runs Agawam river. Below the bridge, on which it is crossed, its channel may be regarded as a curiosity. During a long succession of ages it has been worn down in a solid body of rock. The chasm is on both sides nearly perpendicular, descending from six to thirty feet in different places, and appearing like a vast trench, dug by human hands. Its direction is somewhat winding, but approaches so near to a straight line, that it may be traced from the bridge not far from one-sixth of a mile.

In 1790, Chesterfield contained 1,183 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,323; in 1810, 1,408. These are distributed into two congregations, a Presbyterian and a Baptist.

West-Hampton is bounded partly on Chesterfield, and partly on Norwich. It is chiefly situated in the valley of the

Connecticut, but its western limit lies on these mountains. Of course, its seasons are sensibly milder than those of the more elevated townships. The soil is warm and moderately rich. Peaches, and all the other fruits of the climate, and most of the productions of the field, grow well. The inhabitants are in very comfortable circumstances.

West-Hampton was originally a part of Northampton. It was incorporated in September, 1779, and includes one Presbyterian congregation. In 1790, it contained 683 inhabitants; in 1800, 756; in 1810, 793.

I am, Sir, &c.

SECOND

JOURNEY TO LAKE GEORGE.

LETTER I.

North-Milford. Derby. Manufactory at Humphreysville. Hooestennuc River. Oxford. Southbury. New-Milford. Lakes anciently existing in the Courses of Rivers.

DEAR SIR;

TUESDAY, September 17th, 1811, I set out on a second journey to Lake George, accompanied by Mr. M———, of Virginia, the gentleman, who, in the year 1805, was my companion in a journey to Boston. My primary object in choosing this route was to explore those parts of the Hooestennuc, which I had not hitherto examined, together with the whole length of the Hudson, which lies between Glen's Falls and the ocean. We took the turnpike road from New-Haven to New-Milford, which, from Derby, lies wholly on the east, or left bank of the Hooestennuc.

After passing the western boundary of the township of New-Haven, we entered the parish of North-Milford. The surface of this parish is formed of easy undulations. The soil is rich, and the inhabitants are industrious, sober, frugal, and virtuous. The state of Connecticut is distinguished, perhaps, from all other countries by a commanding regard to personal character.

> "Here, in truth,
> Not in pretence, man is esteem'd as man.
> Not here how rich of what peculiar blood,
> Or office high; but of what genuine worth,
> What talents bright and useful, what good deeds,
> What piety to God, what love to man,
> The question is. To this an answer fair
> The general heart secures."

The people of North-Milford, plain as they are, have built one of the handsomest churches in the county of New-Haven, and have thus shown, that they have a just taste for the beautiful, as well as a proper attachment to the useful.

The parish consists chiefly of plantations.

The road from New-Haven to Derby is excellent, and, having been recently laid out through unoccupied grounds, is in a great measure solitary. Planters, however, are already multiplying upon it, and within a short time it will be lined with houses.

On the hill, south-east of Derby landing, there is a rich and beautiful prospect. The Hooestennuc, here a noble, navigable river, is in full view, above and below, for several miles, together with the tracts which form its shores. There is a beautiful island in its bosom. A considerable number of vessels were lying at the wharfs on both shores. Several intervals border it elegantly on the west, or Huntington side. The houses and stores at Derby landing, and those at the Huntington landing are sprightly, cheerful objects; and, immediately above Derby, the Naugatuc, the largest tributary stream of the Hooestennuc, winding through chains of rich, verdant intervals, presents in its confluence with that river one of the finest ornaments of landscape. To complete the picture, several ranges of rude hills form a fine contrast to the soft scenery which I have mentioned, and terminate the prospect on every side.

The Naugatuc rises in the Green Mountains, in the township of Norfolk, near the north line of the state. Thence, in a course generally south, it passes through Winchester, Torrington, Harwinton, Plymouth, Waterbury, and Oxford, to Derby. Its size is that of the Lower Amonoosuc, its length about fifty miles, its current rapid, and, when swollen by freshets, as it often is very suddenly, violent and destructive. It furnishes a great number of excellent mill-seats, and is in many places lined with beautiful intervals. Notwithstanding the roughness of the country through which it passes, its bed is worn so deep, and to so uniform a surface, that from Waterbury northward, one of the smoothest and most level turnpike roads in the state has been formed on its banks.

Derby was incorporated in the year 1675. At that time,

however, there were but twelve families in the township. A part of it was purchased in 1663, and a few planters fixed themselves here in 1664. The remainder was purchased in 1667 and 1669. Its Indian name was Paugasset.

Derby contains two parishes, the Town and Great-Hill, three congregations, and four churches. Two of the congregations are Presbyterian, the other consists of Episcopalians, who have a church in the town, and another at Humphreysville. Neither of the congregations is large.

The surface of this township is uneven. The hills are in several instances steep and rough. The soil is in some places fertile, and in others sandy and light. The valley of the Naugatuc is pleasant.

The town consists of about seventy or eighty decent houses, chiefly built on a single street along the eastern bank of the Naugatuc, extending perhaps a mile and a half in length. The Episcopal church is a neat, modern building; the Presbyterian is old and decayed.

Several of the inhabitants are engaged in commerce. The Hooestennuc is navigable for vessels of a moderate size to this place. Some ship-building is carried on here, and upon the opposite shore. In the year 1806, a company was incorporated here, by the name of the Derby Fishing Company, with a capital of 100,000 dollars; and, in the year 1809, a bank was established, with a capital of the same amount*.

There is an academy in this town; but for several years it has, I believe, been little more than a parochial school.

Within the limits of Derby, four miles and a half from the mouth of the Naugatuc, is a settlement, named by the legislature Humphreysville, from the Honourable David Humphreys, formerly minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid. At this place a ridge of rocks, twenty feet in height, crosses the river, and forms a perfect dam about two-thirds of the distance. The remaining third is closed by an artificial dam. The stream is so large as to furnish an abundance of water at all times for any works which will probably ever be erected on the spot. Those already existing are a grist-mill, a saw-mill,

* Both have since ceased to exist.—*Pub.*

a paper-mill, a woollen manufactory, and a cotton manufactory, with all their proper appendages, and a considerable number of other buildings, destined to be the residence of the manufacturers, and for various other purposes.

A strong current of water in a channel, cut through the rock on the eastern side, sets in motion all the machinery employed in these buildings. By this current are moved the grist-mill; two newly-invented shearing machines; a breaker and finisher for carding sheep's wool; a machine for making ravellings; two jennies for spinning sheep's wool, under the roof of the grist-mill; the works in the paper-mill; a picker; two more carding-machines for sheep's wool; and a billy with forty spindles in a third building; a fulling-mill; a saw-mill, employed to cut the square timber, boards, laths, &c., for the different edifices, and to shape many of the wooden materials for the machinery; two more fulling-mills on improved principles, immediately connected with the clothier's shop; and the various machinery in a cotton manufactory, a building about one hundred feet long, thirty-six wide, and of four stories, capable of containing two thousand spindles, with all their necessary apparatus.

The houses can accommodate with a comfortable residence about one hundred and fifty persons. Ten others in the neighbourhood will furnish comfortable residences for upwards of one hundred and fifty more. Gardens, on a beautiful plat in the rear of the manufactories, furnish all the vegetables necessary for the establishment.

The institution contains four broad and eight narrow looms, and eighteen stocking-frames.

The principal part of the labour in attending the machinery in the cotton and woollen manufactories, is done by women and children; the former hired at from fifty cents to one dollar per week; the latter, apprentices, who are regularly instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The wages of the men are from five to twenty-one dollars per month.

In Europe great complaints have been made of manufacturing establishments, as having been very commonly seats of vice and disease. General Humphreys began this with a determination either to prevent these evils, or, if this could not

be done, to give up the design. With regard to the health of his people, it is sufficient to observe, that from the year 1804 to the year 1810, not an individual belonging to the institution died; and it is believed, that among no other equal number of persons there has been less disease.

With respect to vice it may be remarked, that every person who is discovered to be openly immoral is discharged.

At the commencement of the institution, discreet parents were reluctant to place their children in it, from unfavourable apprehensions concerning the tendency of such establishments. Since that time they have been offered in more than sufficient numbers.

In 1813, the legislature, at the instance of General Humphreys, passed a law, constituting the select-men and magistracy of the several towns in which manufactories had been or should be established, visitors of these institutions. This law required the proprietors to control, in a manner specified, the morals of all their workmen, and to educate the children as other children in plain families throughout the state are educated. The visitors were directed to inquire annually into the manner in which the proprietors conformed to this law. The reports of the visitors in Derby, concerning the establishment at Humphreysville, have been in a high degree honourable both to the proprietor and his people.

The manufactures at Humphreysville are esteemed excellent. The best broad cloth made here is considered as inferior to none which is imported.

None but Americans are employed in this institution. Americans make all the machinery; and have invented several kinds of machines, which are considered as superior to such as have been devised in Europe for the same purposes.

Most of the weaving has been done in private families.

The scenery at this spot is delightfully romantic. The fall is a fine object. The river, the buildings belonging to the institution, the valley, the bordering hills, farms and houses, groves and forests united, form a landscape in a high degree interesting.

The people of this country are, at least in my opinion, indebted not a little to General Humphreys, both for erecting this manufacturing establishment, and for introducing into the

United States the invaluable breed of Spanish sheep, known by the name of Merinos. One hundred of these animals he procured to be brought, by the connivance of the Spanish court, from the interior of Spain to Lisbon and thence transported to Derby under his own eye. A few of them died in consequence of the voyage. The rest speedily regained their strength and flesh; and from that time the breed, instead of declining, has sensibly improved. For some years strong prejudices existed in the minds of the farmers throughout our country, against this breed of sheep. General Humphreys has done more than any other man, perhaps than all others, to remove this prejudice, and to spread them through the country.

In this manufactory he has, I think, fairly established three points of great importance. One is, that these manufactures can be carried on with success; another, that the workmen can be preserved in as good health as that enjoyed by any other class of men in the country; and the third, that the deterioration of morals in such institutions, which is so often complained of, is not necessary, but incidental; not inherent in the institution itself, but the fault of the proprietor.

Derby, then including Oxford, contained, in 1756, 1,000 inhabitants; in 1774, 1,889; in 1790, 2,994. Derby alone contained, in 1800, 1,878 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,051.

The Hooestennuc springs from three sources; the western, in New-Ashford; the middle, in Windsor; and the eastern near the boundary between Washington and Middlefield; the two former in the county of Berkshire, the latter in the county of Hampshire, near the line of separation. The middle and eastern branches unite in Dalton, whence the common stream proceeds to Pittsfield, where it joins the western branch about a mile below the church. The western branch is larger and longer than either of the others, but less than their united waters. The western branch passes through the principal part of New-Ashford, and through Lanesborough, before it reaches Pittsfield; the eastern, through Washington and Partridgefield, or rather through what is now Hinsdale. In Lanesborough the western branch enters a beautiful lake, by which its waters are very sensibly increased. From Pittsfield it descends through Lenox, Lee, Stockbridge, Great Barrington,

and Sheffield, where it enters the state of Connecticut. Thence it passes between Salisbury and Sharon on the west, and Canaan and Cornwall on the east, until it enters the township of Kent. After having passed through this township, touching the corner of Sherman, it passes through the centre of New-Milford, which it crosses diagonally. After leaving this township, it forms the eastern boundary of Brookfield, Newtown, Huntington, and Stratford; and the western of Southbury, Oxford, Derby, and Milford. The course of this river, from New-Ashford to Lee, is generally south. In Lee it turns to the westward, about seven or eight miles, through Stockbridge, and round Monument Mountain. Thence to the Connecticut line it pursues its original direction. Here it makes a second bend to the west, of perhaps three miles; after which it proceeds south-westerly to the lower part of Kent. From this spot its course is nearly south-east to the Sound, with which it unites between Stratford and Milford Points. Its most considerable tributary is the Naugatuc, which joins it at Derby. From the mouth of the Naugatuc, the Hooestennuc is navigable for sloops and brigs. The Oblong river is next in size to the Naugatuc. Its source is in the township of Northeast, in the county of Dutchess, and its entrance in the north-west corner of New-Milford *.

There are three falls on this river: the Salisbury cataract; the falls in Kent, at Bull's iron-works; and the great falls in New-Milford. There are also two or three others of no consequence.

In the county of Berkshire the Hooestennuc is bordered by very rich and beautiful intervals. The same delightful grounds are found also in Canaan, Salisbury, and New-Milford, and in smaller tracts in various other townships. In most places, however, after the river leaves Canaan and Salisbury, it passes chiefly through elevated grounds, which approach near to its banks, and often form them, leaving in many instances a margin scarcely more than sufficient to allow of a good road. There are a few expansions in this valley, which have not been mentioned in these Letters, but they are of little importance.

* The only remaining considerable tributary of the Hooestennuc is the Shepaug, rising in Goshen.

From the cataract in Salisbury, taking the road on the western side to Sheffield, and thence proceeding to Lanesborough, a traveller passes through one of the richest tracts, and is presented with one of the most romantic and delightful scenes, alternately beautiful and sublime, which can be found in this country, perhaps in the world.

Boats have, in various instances, proceeded during the spring freshets from the foot of the great falls in New-Milford to Derby. A series of locks might render this navigation safe and convenient at all seasons, and this may perhaps at some future day be accomplished; but the expense would be too great to be borne by the present inhabitants, or to be repaid by the business which would be done.

The whole length of the Hooestennuc is about one hundred and thirty miles.

From Derby the road crosses Naugatuc river; and thence proceeds by the side of the Hooestennuc to the near neighbourhood of its fountains in New-Ashford. From Derby to Kent the course is nearly north-west, and throughout the whole distance to New-Milford is almost literally on the bank. The valley is everywhere narrow, and the prospect limited on both sides by hills of considerable height. A few of these are bold, masculine bluffs, with rude precipices, which may be called magnificent. Almost all of them present declivities too steep for convenient cultivation, covered with a soil too unpromising to tempt the labours of the husbandman. At times it is sandy, at others rocky, and at others cold. Hence this region is more thinly populated than any other, of equal extent, within the limits of Connecticut. The houses also are few, and most of them indifferent buildings. In the parish of South-Britain, eighteen miles from Derby, and twenty-six from New-Haven, there is a small exception to these remarks. The rest of the tract is solitary; and, with the aid of a road generally sandy and heavy, is far from inviting excursions of pleasure.

You will remember, that these observations are applied only to the narrow valley of the Hooestennuc, through which we passed; extending rarely more than a mile in breadth, and generally not more than one-fourth of a mile. As soon as

these steep hills are ascended, their surface presents a good soil and sprightlier scenery, a numerous population and flourishing settlements.

The first township, along the skirt of which we passed, after we had left Derby, is Oxford, formerly a part of that township. Oxford is a collection of hills and vallies, generally covered with a strong soil. The inhabitants are universally farmers. It includes two congregations, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal plurality; and, in 1800, contained 1,410 inhabitants; in 1810, 1,413.

Immediately north of Oxford lies the township of Southbury, along a tributary stream of the Hooestennuc. Its surface is pleasant, and the soil excellent. It is divided into two parishes, the Town, and South-Britain. The town is a pretty collection of houses, chiefly on a single street, running from north to south. The parish of South-Britain is small. That part of it which borders upon the Hooestennuc, presents the only specimen of soft scenery on our road, until we reached New-Milford. The expansion here was wider, the hills more handsomely shaped, and the river adorned with several intervals. The soil was better than in the parts through which we had passed before. Here also was a scattered hamlet, the inhabitants of which appeared to be in better circumstances. Southbury contains two Presbyterian congregations. In the year 1774 it was a part of Woodbury. In 1790, it contained 1,738 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,757; and, in 1810 (a part of it having been taken off to form the township of Middlebury), 1,413.

We dined at an inn in South-Britain; the first house on the road at which we could obtain a dinner after leaving Derby, and reached New-Milford soon after it became dark. The river was continually by our side; a sprightly, cheerful stream of pure water, often finely murmuring, and, where it was quiet, proceeding with a vigorous current. If the bottom were smooth, it contains sufficient water to be boatable to New-Milford, and a considerable distance above.

I lodged at the house of a friend, where also we breakfasted and dined the following day. After breakfast, accompanied by two gentlemen, we rode down the river, to examine the machinery of a grist-mill; particularly a machine for clean-

ing wheat, supposed to be singular in its construction, convenience, and efficacy. It is a hollow cylinder, formed of strong canvas, inclosed by a circular frame, and placed in a small degree obliquely. Into this cylinder the wheat is carried in a gradual stream by the general motion of the mill; and descends from the upper to the lower end with the requisite rapidity, by means of the rotatory motion of the cylinder. By this motion a blast is produced, of sufficient strength to blow away all the impurities mixed with the wheat, and leave it remarkably clean. The mill stands upon what are here called the Little Falls, one of the best mill seats which I have seen. Hence we proceeded to the Great Falls, crossing the Hooestennuc about half a mile farther down, in order to examine some interesting objects which we had passed the preceding evening. These falls are on the north side of a hill, about two hundred and fifty feet in height. Through this hill the river, during the long progress of ages, has forced its way by wearing down the original barrier. From the falls to the cove, a wide expansion of the river immediately below the hills, is one quarter of a mile; being the breadth of the hill, as it originally stood, or, as it is here called, of the mountain. That the two parts of the elevation were once united is believed, without a question, by the inhabitants of all the surrounding country; and will not, I suspect, be doubted by any attentive spectator. The banks, which ascend immediately from the river, are two vast and awful precipices of solid rock, of the height mentioned above, smoothly worn as if cut with tools through the mountain. The sides of the chasm are perpendicular, and their aspect eminently grand and solemn. Within the chasm the stream murmurs rapidly over a bed of rocks. At its foot, or at the entrance of the cove below, it has the smooth expansion of a lake, and is almost unfathomable. This depth is believed, and as I apprehend on the best grounds, to have been scooped out by a cataract anciently formed by the mountain.

When the mountain was unbroken, the valley of the Hooestennuc, where the town of New-Milford now is, and many miles above, was a lake. On this subject the excursions, which I have made through various parts of these states, have given me apprehensions very different from those, which I origi-

nally entertained, and not improbably from those, which will be entertained by any man, who has not derived his opinions from actual inspection. There is an analogy, running through all the scenes of this nature, which I have examined, and producing a conviction, not easily derived from one, two, or a few. After having seen a small number, the mind is gradually compelled to suspect, that passages like this may have been worn by the streams of which they are now the channels. Some of them (for example, this, which is under consideration) exhibit so many, and so obvious, proofs of such attrition, that a spectator can hardly refuse to admit the supposition as being in some degree reasonable. As he proceeds in his investigation, new evidence of its reasonableness is continually furnished: and what was at first little more than an hypothesis is by degrees changed into an established opinion. In this manner I have slowly come to a full belief, that most of those, which in these Letters I have called expansions, in the vallies through which the rivers in this country flow, were once the beds of lakes, formed by barriers extended across their outlets at the lower extremity of each; and that the lakes have disappeared by the breaking down of these barriers. I have looked on with attention, and have been forcibly struck by the proofs which I have seen of the justness of this opinion, in a series of appearances too numerous and often too minute to be recorded or remembered. A multitude of these, which could not be forgotten, I have successively compared, and the result of the whole process has been this conviction. Should you dissent from it, I shall not acknowledge you as a competent judge; but shall plead to the jurisdiction of the court, until you have personally examined the objects themselves.

To induce others, who may read these Letters, to investigate the subject hereafter, I will mention a number of places, where this process of nature has been accomplished.

On the Connecticut, the first or lowest of these lakes existed at, and immediately above, Middletown. The barrier was formed by the hills, usually called mountains, crossing the river at a place named Maronus, about four miles east of that city.

The second lake covered the expansion which extends from

Wethersfield to Springfield. The barrier was at Stepney, or Rocky Hill.

The third covered the country surrounding Northampton. The barrier was formed by the junction of Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke.

The fourth extended from Gill to Brattleborough. The barrier was formed just above the mouth of Miller's river.

The fifth extended from Westmoreland to Walpole, and was produced by West River mountain, or the hills immediately above.

The sixth commenced at Bellows' falls, and extended to Claremont.

The seventh was at Oxford, sustained by the hills in the northern part of Lyme.

The eighth was at Haverhill, supported by the hills in Piermont.

The ninth was at Lancaster, of which the barrier was Littleton mountains.

The tenth was immediately above the falls in Northumberland.

The eleventh was immediately above the Grand Monadnock.

On the Hooestennuc, the first was at Derby, sustained by the hills at Derby Narrows.

The second at New-Milford.

The third in Kent, immediately above the fall at Bull's iron works.

The fourth extended from Salisbury cataract to Great Barrington.

The fifth from the west end of Monument Mountain to Lanesborough.

On the Hudson, there was one vast lake, and perhaps but one; kept up to a great height by the high lands immediately below Fishgill. This piece of water was little less than one hundred and thirty miles in length; and, in some places, more than forty in breadth.

If there was a second, the barrier was probably between Waterford and Lansingburgh.

If there was a third, the barrier was at Stillwater; and the lake extended to Fort Edward, or perhaps to Miller's falls.

On the Mohawk, the Cohoes, or more probably some ante-

rior mound, supported the first lake; extending backward a considerable distance beyond Schenectady.

The second was immediately above Anthony's Nose, which, if I remember right, is in Johnstown.

The third commences at the Little falls, and extended as far back as Rome.

This list, which might be easily increased, will be sufficient for the purpose in hand.

It will be obvious, that the circumstances attending the case supposed must be very diverse in different places; and that the evidence, by which the probability of this supposition is evinced, must be much clearer in some of these cases than in others. At New-Milford, and at the Little falls on the Mohawk, it cannot rationally be questioned. In various other places the evidence is strong, in others still it is less obvious; yet from the appearance of the stream, the alleged barrier, the grounds above, and the general analogy running through them all, and through many others of less note, an eye-witness, who should examine a considerable number of them with attention, could, I think, scarcely fail of readily admitting the truth of this opinion.

In this manner the Euxine, by breaking down the mound at the efflux of the Bosphorus, has uncovered a large tract of territory on its eastern, northern, and western shores; and thus at some distant period the great American lakes, by breaking down the wall, formed by the stratum of lime-stone at the eastern end of Lake Erie, may leave their beds bare, and open extensive regions to the scythe and the plough.

I am, Sir, &

LETTER II.

Indian Monument. Kent. Major General Swift. Journey from Salisbury Cataract to Lake George. Caldwell. Northumberland. Moreau. Saratoga Springs. Ballston Springs. Lansingburgh. Troy. Albany. Hudson. Livingston. Clermont. Rhinebeck. Clinton. Poughkeepsie. Fishkill. Philipstown.

DEAR SIR;

AFTER we had examined the falls of this river, and its passage through the mountains below, my companions ascended the summit of that on the eastern side, for the purpose of seeing a monument of stones, formed in a manner generally resembling that which I have heretofore described in these Letters, as existing on Monument mountain, near Stockbridge. It was intended to mark the grave of an Indian chief who was buried here.

This chief was one of the Scaghticokes: a tribe which I have heretofore mentioned, and of which New-Milford was formerly the principal residence. His crime was the murder of one of his own people. In consequence of this act he was immediately pursued by the avenger of blood; who, among the Mohekaneews, and among the Iroquois also, was, usually, the nearest male kinsman. The chief fled to Roxbury, a township bordering on New-Milford south-eastward; thence to Woodbury, and thence to Southbury: in which township he came upon the river. He then directed his course up the stream till he reached the summit of this mountain, where he was overtaken and killed by his pursuer, on the spot in which he was buried.

The figure of this monument was, in one respect, different from that which is in the neighbourhood of Stockbridge. That was an obtuse cone. This is a circular enclosure, surrounding

the grave. Both were, however, gathered in the same manner. Every Indian, at least of the tribe to which the deceased belonged, considered himself as under a sacred obligation, whenever he passed by, to add one stone to the heap; as did, I believe, those of every other tribe belonging to the same nation. In this gradual manner both monuments were accumulated.

It is remarkable, that both are on high and solitary grounds, remote from every Indian settlement; and that the persons buried were excluded from the customary burying places of their respective tribes; places considered, I believe, by all the Mohekaneews as consecrated ground. Of both it is also true, that the Indians have declared the obligation to cast any more stones upon them to have ceased for a considerable period. Of the chief buried here, it is certain, that he was considered as having committed a gross crime. This last fact makes the practice of forming monuments in this manner approximate still nearer to the custom of the Israelites, mentioned in my account of Stockbridge. Within a short time past, some young gentlemen studying physic in the neighbourhood, attempted to dig up the bones of this deceased chief. The attempt, while it destroyed an interesting relic of Indian manners, gave very great offence to the Scaghticokes, who threatened them with violence for the injury done to their tribe.

The road, as it comes from the south, ascends this mountain in a manner well-devised and very convenient; but passes over ground fitted to awaken horror in the traveller. It runs at a small distance from the edge of a precipice, which in different places is from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet in height.

The township of New-Milford extends near twenty miles along this river, and is about six miles in breadth. The surface is handsome, an open valley, rising gradually and irregularly from the river, and swelling into hills, varied in their forms, and in several instances beautiful. On the south-west the expansion opens to the hills beyond Danbury; and is in this direction not less than twenty miles in extent. The Housatonnuc is here a considerable stream, alternated with ripples and falls. It is also bordered for a great length by rich and beautiful intervals.

The soil of this township is various. A great part of it is of the very best quality, producing all the crops of the climate.

The town consists of about forty houses, built chiefly on a single street, running parallel with the river. It is a neat settlement. The inhabitants, it will be supposed, are prosperous. The rest of the township is divided into farms of uncommon fertility.

New-Milford contains two parishes; the Town, and Bridgewater; and three congregations, two Presbyterian and one Episcopal. In 1756, the number of inhabitants was 1,137; in 1774, 2,776; in 1790, 3,167; in 1800, 3,221; in 1810, 3,537.

Three miles eastward from this town there is a silver mine. One of the inhabitants, a Captain Rowe, dug ore from it eight or ten years after the revolutionary war, as an agent for the proprietors, who were citizens of New-York. The work was given up on account of the water, which flowed into the cavity, and which could not be drawn off without too great an expense. The general belief here is, that it was wrought with considerable profit.

Both white and clouded marble abound in this township, and have been extensively wrought for many years.

After dinner we bade our friends adieu, and rode to Kent, twelve miles. The first part of our way was pleasant, the remainder wild and solitary; lying principally in a forest thinly interspersed with settlements. The road is indifferent, being little used. A parallel road on the hills, which is good, and considerably shorter, commands almost all the travelling in this direction.

The next morning we proceeded to Sheffield, through Kent, Cornwall, a part of Canaan, and Salisbury; thirty-two miles. The first part of our journey lay over the Scaghticoke lands, formerly described. These lands have lately been sold, under a law of the state, which directs the interest of the money to be applied to the support of these people. They are now enclosed, and begin to wear the appearance of well-directed agriculture; but are much less romantic than in their former state.

Kent is an indifferently appearing town, built in a scattered

manner along the road for two or three miles. The surface is very uneven, and not very inviting; and the soil much inferior to that of New-Milford. The township at large is rough, and the road indifferent.

Kent contains rich mines of iron, which are extensively wrought. They are the property of the Honourable William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, and of Samuel Forbes, and John Adam, Esquires, of Canaan.

Kent contained, in 1756, 1,000 inhabitants; in 1774, 1,996; in 1790 (having been divided), 1,318; in 1800, 1,607; in 1810, 1,794.

Cornwall, along the river, has a softer aspect than Kent; and is particularly distinguished for being the residence of the Honourable Major-General Heman Swift. This gentleman was born in Wareham, in the county of Plymouth, Massachusetts, formerly described in these Letters. The only education, which he received, was that of a parochial school. Soon after his removal into this state, when a young man, he was chosen a representative to the legislature. In the American army he rose to the rank of a Brigadier-General. After the revolutionary war was ended, he was elected a member of the council. He resigned his seat at this board in the year 1802. For many years, also, he was a judge of the court of common pleas for the county of Litchfield.

General Swift was distinguished for native strength of mind, regularly directed to practical and useful objects; and he solicitously sought improvement, from the sources which were within his reach. In this manner he acquired, extensively, that knowledge, which fits a man to be serviceable to his fellow-men. This, it must be acknowledged, makes little figure in books; but, in him, its efficacy was happily felt by all those, with whom he was concerned in the affairs of life. His affections were soft and gentle, and his conversation mild and unassuming. But his conceptions were bold and masculine, and his disposition invincibly firm. When he was once assured of his duty, nothing could move him from his purpose. Hence he possessed an independence of mind, which all men reverenced, and all bad men dreaded.

As an officer, though destitute of the brilliancy so coveted in that character, he was highly respected by his fellow-officers, and loved by the soldiers; every one of whom approached

him with a certainty of being justly and kindly treated. His bravery was that of Putnam, tempered with consummate prudence. As a judge, probably no man ever held a more equal balance. As a councillor, he was wise, public spirited, and honourable. As a man, he was humble, sincere, upright, generous, charitable, and eminently pious. The great inquiry of his life was, what was his duty, and his great purpose to do it.

Not long after the resignation of his public offices, he was attacked by infirmities, which in a great measure destroyed his energy, both of body and mind. I saw him, but he was in ruins. He knew me, which was more than I expected, and shook me by the hand with visible affection and pleasure; but it was a gleam of sunshine through the crevice of a dark cloud, opened only for a moment. He requested me earnestly to remember him in my prayers; and bade me an affectionate and final farewell.

I should hardly make these observations concerning a living man, who was sufficiently possessed of his faculties to realize their import: but this is beyond the power of the excellent man, whom I have described. With respect to this subject, he is deceased. In themselves they are just, and by General Swift are richly deserved.

From Cornwall to the Salisbury cataract the country resembles that which has been already described, but is of a still softer aspect. It is thinly inhabited, and the soil is indifferent. You will remember, that I speak of the valley only. The road is a turnpike, in some places sandy, otherwise good.

We dined at a house near the cataract; and, while our dinner was preparing, went out to take a view of this fine object. Its appearance I found sensibly changed since my last visit. The mill on the right bank was gone. The rocks were in several places considerably worn. The direction, size, and figure of the currents, and the spots from which they issued, were materially altered in a variety of places; though incomparably less than at Glen's Falls. Still there was a loss in some degree of the grandeur and the beauty, with which I had been formerly delighted. The two rocks, which I mentioned heretofore, as leaning in a remarkable manner towards each other, and which then stood in the bed of the stream, now stood on the eastern shore: the river, perhaps,

having less water, and therefore not surrounding them; or, what is not improbable, having worn its channel deeper on the western side. The upper fall is seen between those rocks in a manner strikingly picturesque."

We took the road to Sheffield on the western side, and found it moderately good, and the scenery pleasing.

From Sheffield, the next morning, Thursday, September 20th, we rode to Stockbridge to dinner, and in the afternoon proceeded to New-Lebanon, thirty miles. On our way to Stockbridge we went to the Indian monument, mentioned in a former part of these Letters; and, to our great regret, found it broken up in the same manner as that at New-Milford.

I ought in my account of that to have added, that this mode of erecting monuments was adopted only on peculiar occasions. The common manner of Indian burial had nothing in it of this nature. The remains of the dead, who died at home, were lodged in a common cemetery, belonging to the village in which they had lived. Sometimes they were laid horizontally, and sometimes were interred in a sitting posture. Their bows and arrows are said to have been buried with the men; and with them, and perhaps with women also, various utensils. These, it is said, they believed to be necessary, or at least useful, to their departed friends in their journey towards that happy region in the south-west, where, according to their mythology, all the brave and good will be finally gathered. It is remarkable, that they erected no monuments over them, nor commemorated them by any external objects whatever. Instead of this they would never themselves name them, nor without resentment suffer them to be named by others! In the year 1665, the celebrated Philip went to Nantucket, for the purpose of killing John Gibbs, an Indian of that island, who had mortally offended him by naming one of his deceased relations. Gibbs, however, escaped, being concealed by Thomas Macy, an English inhabitant.

These monuments were plainly erected under the sanctions of religion; for every Indian felt himself religiously obliged, when he passed by, to cast a stone upon them. How long this obligation extended is to me unknown; but it had its termination; for the Indians, in both these instances, consider

themselves as having been released from it a good number of years.

Both of them were also raised upon extraordinary occasions. What those occasions were it may now be impossible to determine.

I found the upper part of Richmond valley more beautiful than I had thought it before. The fields in their size, figure, surface, and fertility, are remarkably fine, and are ornamented with beautiful trees, standing alternately single, in small clumps, and in handsome groves. The cultivation is plainly of a superior cast. The acclivities on both sides of the valley are of the most elegant forms; and Saddle Mountain and Taghkannuc, each in full view at the distance of about twenty miles, limit the prospect.

The Shakers' settlement at New-Lebanon had increased, as was indeed the whole population of the valley. A considerable village had been raised up in the near neighbourhood of the spring. This valley has been much more celebrated than that of Richmond, but is far less beautiful.

We lodged here in a very indifferent inn. The next morning, after having walked up to the spring, and examined the baths, and other appendages, we began our journey to Albany, where we arrived in season for dinner, twenty-six miles.

The county of Rensselaer I found exceedingly changed for the better, since I passed through it in 1802. Almost all the marks of a recent settlement had vanished. The fields, the orchards, the houses, and their appendages, wore the aspect which we expect to find in a well cultivated country.

In Albany I lodged at the house of the Honourable John Lovett, counsellor at law in that city, and since a member of congress; a gentleman to whom we were indebted for every civility and attention which we could wish, both now and on our return.

Monday, October 23d, accompanied by Mr. L———, we rode to Stillwater; and, after being obliged to wait three hours for our dinner, proceeded to Argyle, on the eastern side of Miller's falls. Mr. L. left us the next morning, and we proceeded to Lake George, passing through the villages of Fort Edward, Sandy Hill, and Glen's Falls. Here we dined, and, while our dinner was preparing, went down to examine

this noble cataract. To my great mortification I found it encumbered and defaced, by the erection of several paltry buildings raised up since my last visit to this place. The rocks, both above and below the bridge, were extremely altered, and greatly for the worse, by the operations of the water and the weather. The courses of the currents had undergone, in many places, a similar variation. The view at the same time was broken by the buildings; two or three of which, designed to be mills, were given up as useless, and were in ruins. Another was a wretched-looking cottage, standing upon the island between the bridges. Nothing could be more dissonant from the splendour of this scene, and hardly any thing more disgusting. I found a considerable part of the rocks below the road so much wasted, that I could scarcely acknowledge them to be the same.

After dinner we set out for the lake, but, missing our way, lost four or five miles, and made what should have been twenty-five, twenty-nine or thirty. Here we found a good inn.

The country from Albany to Lake George is extensively improved. Waterford is become a handsome village of about one hundred and fifty houses, surrounding a neat Presbyterian church; many of them valuable. It contains, also, a considerable number of stores, some of them large and expensive, together with a greater number of mechanics' shops. The whole aspect of this village is that of business and thrift.

On the road from Waterford to Fort Edward a great number of valuable houses are erected. The enclosures are improved and multiplied, and the country is more generally and better cultivated. This is particularly true of Argyle and Northumberland, of Halfmoon, Stillwater, and Saratoga; yet throughout the whole distance the country is greatly advanced towards a state of thorough cultivation. At Fort Edward, Sandy-Hill, and Glen's Falls, there are three handsome villages, greatly improved in every respect since my last journey through this region. In each of the two last there is a neat Presbyterian church lately erected. A minister has been settled over both villages, on a salary of 700 dollars per annum; a fact which proves at once the prosperity and good disposition of the inhabitants.

A strong bridge is built over the Mohawk, in the place of that erected by General Schuyler, half a mile below the Cohoes; and another across the Hudson, from Northumberland to Argyle, at the foot of Miller's Falls. The road from Glen's Falls is become worse than it was formerly, having been worn down through the soil (which is tolerably firm) into a loose sand below, sufficiently encumbered with stones.

In consequence of losing our road, I had an opportunity of seeing more extensively the township of Queensbury. That which we took bent to the north-east. It was bordered for several miles by a succession of good farms, the appearance of which, and of the houses which were upon them, sufficiently indicated the easy, prosperous state of the inhabitants.

In the account which I gave of my former journey to Lake George, I observed, that, to complete the scenery belonging to this fine piece of water, the efforts of cultivation were wanting; but that, at no great distance of time, the hand of the husbandman would adorn its borders with all the smiling scenes of agriculture. I also added, it would not demand the gift of prophecy to foresee, that the villas of opulence and refinement will, within half a century, add here the elegancies of art to the beauty and majesty of nature.

When I wrote these observations I little thought, that within ten years, there would be raised up a beautiful village, exhibiting, with a brilliancy almost singular, many of these elegancies. Such, however, is the fact. Few settlements of the same size have a more cheerful and thrifty appearance than that of Caldwell, erroneously named Fort George; which has within this period been built on the western side of the lake, immediately after turning its southern boundary, and almost literally at its south-western corner. A number of neat and even handsome houses have started up here, under the direction and by the enterprise of a Mr. Caldwell, of Albany, the proprietor, as I understand, of this township. In one of them we found all the accommodations which are usually found in the most populous parts of the United States. Another was a country seat, a pretty building, surrounded by handsome appendages.

The next morning we rose early, with a design to make an

excursion upon the lake, but found the sky thickly overcast, and watery clouds brooding heavily on the summits of the mountains, an unambiguous indication of approaching rain. We waited until eleven o'clock, and found the proofs of foul weather continually increasing, and every prospect of going upon the lake vanished. We had engaged to return to Albany on Saturday, and between eleven and twelve recommenced our journey. On our way we examined Fort George. I found the works considerably decayed. We also surveyed Fort William Henry, Bloody Pond, &c.; and, after having spent as much time as the threatening aspect of the weather would permit, made the best of our way to the township of Fairfield, six miles south of Glen's Falls.

The township of Caldwell, together with two or three others, was formerly a part of that of Bolton; a large tract, commencing at the head of Lake George, and proceeding near to its foot, about thirty miles in length. Its breadth in different places was from about six to perhaps sixteen miles. Before it was divided, that is, in the year 1800, it contained 979 inhabitants. In the year 1810, the present Bolton contained 726, and Caldwell, 560. Both townships are bounded on the east by Lake George; and Caldwell, by the north-eastern branch of the Hudson and Bolton, partly upon that branch, and partly by the Scaroon lake, its head-water.

We arrived at Fairfield, happily, just at the moment when it began to rain with violence. The clouds had sprinkled us for four or five miles, but without any serious inconvenience. It rained very hard through the remainder of the day and through the evening.

The tract through which we had passed was once in the township of Northumberland, formerly mentioned, and is now in that of Moreau. The part of it through which we travelled, together with that which I crossed from Glen's Falls to Carpenter's, with Mr. L——, when returning from Vergennes, is a yellow-pine plain; the soil sandy and light, the inhabitants few and unprosperous. Both these townships were included in the ancient Saratoga. The whole township of Saratoga contained, in the year 1790, 3,071 inhabitants; in the year 1800, the present Saratoga contained 2,481, and Northumberland, 2,007; together, 4,488. In 1810, the num-

bers in Saratoga were 3,183; in Northumberland, 2,041; and in Morean, 1,847; total 6,571*.

On the 26th we rode to Ballston Spa to dinner, twenty miles; whence in the afternoon we proceeded to Schenectady, sixteen. From Fairfield to the Saratoga springs, about twelve or thirteen miles, the country still continued to be yellow-pine ground; in several places less level and more populous than that through which we had already passed. Still the soil was generally indifferent, and the number of inhabitants small. At the Saratoga springs we found a considerable village, raised up principally by the reputation of these waters. There are two sets of these springs, and the village lies between them; or, rather, there is a cluster of houses at the northern, and another at the southern springs. Some of the houses are handsome and expensive. These are almost all erected for the accommodation of strangers, and are indeed no other than luxurious boarding-houses. A few decent ones have, however, been built by the inhabitants for

* While at Saratoga, in the summer of 1807, I had an interesting opportunity of witnessing to what a surprising degree the acuteness of one sense may be increased by the loss of another. A respectable farmer of that place, whom curiosity prompted me to visit, although entirely deaf, possessed the faculty of conversing so readily and correctly with others, by watching the motions of their lips, that scarce a suspicion of his deafness would be entertained by one unacquainted with the fact. I conversed with him some time without difficulty, often speaking in the lowest whisper, and standing at a considerable distance, as a trial of his skill. He informed me, that his deafness arose from a hurt which he received, that terminated in a fever of some continuance. After his recovery, being one day before a looking-glass, and accidentally speaking, his eye was arrested by the motion of his lips; and the thought struck him, that he might, by observing these motions in himself and others, enjoy once more the pleasures of conversation. He immediately began the experiment, first learning the articulation of letters and words of one syllable, and then proceeding to those of more difficult pronunciation. After two years' laborious attention to the subject, he at length succeeded. When I saw him his utterance was clear and distinct, and his accentuation generally correct. This latter circumstance is somewhat remarkable, as he had not heard any sound for fourteen years. The name of this person, unless my memory deceives me, was Samuel Waterbury. This recital will not be altogether useless, should it but prove the means of encouraging any who are deaf to attempt the acquisition of an art, which can in a good degree restore to them one of the sweetest enjoyments of life.

their own use. The springs issue in low grounds, worn by streams beneath the common level. The waters of the upper, or northern springs, are said to have essentially the same qualities with those of Ballston, hereafter to be described.

The only analysis which I possess of these waters is that of Dr. Valentine Seaman, one of the surgeons of the New-York hospital. From a train of experiments made by this gentleman he determined, that ten pounds of the water of the *Rock Spring contained carbonic acid gas, measuring about two hundred cubic inches:

	Grains.
Carbonate of soda	26
Muriate of soda, or common salt	173
Super-carbonated lime	190
Carbonate of iron	8½†

The country between these springs and Ballston Spa (about eight miles in extent) is also a pine ground, less level, but of

* Probably what is now called High Rock Spring.

† Since the date of this journey the village at Saratoga Springs has been much enlarged. Many elegant buildings for the accommodation of visitors, and for private dwelling-houses, have been erected. A handsome Presbyterian church, in the modern style of architecture, has been completed, a congregation formed, and a respectable clergyman settled, within a few years.

The Congress Spring is more important in its medicinal effects, and stands higher in the estimation of the public, than any other in this region. Accordingly, the visitors to Saratoga, for the purpose of drinking the waters of this spring, are, during the summer and autumnal months, very numerous.

An account of these waters, and an analysis of those of each spring, has been given by Dr. Steel of Saratoga. Speaking of the Congress Spring he observes, "the gas escapes through the water in fine bubbles, giving to the surface the appearance of simmering. When first dipped, the water is remarkably limpid, and were it not for the escape of free carbonic acid gas in numerous fine specks, it would be perfectly transparent. It, however, becomes turbid, after standing a few hours exposed to the air, and deposits a sediment. Its most obvious effect, when taken as a medicine, is that of a cathartic and diuretic. In most habits, this effect is produced by drinking five or six half pints in the morning before eating; soon after taking it the person feels a sense of fullness about the stomach and bowels, attended with eructations of fixed air, a slight giddiness of the head, and a sensation bordering on a disposition to sleep.

"The temperature, by Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the bottom of the spring, is fifty degrees, and it does not suffer any sensible change during

the same general character. The whole distance from Glen's Falls to the last mentioned place exhibits little to invite the attention of a traveller, except the springs and the road. The Saratoga springs rise by the side of one branch of the Kayaderoseras, or Fish Creek. The Ballston springs rise in a valley, formed by another branch of the same mill-stream. In this valley, and on the bordering acclivities, is built the village, which has lately been named Ballston Spa. It is said by the inhabitants to contain one hundred and fifty houses. I should think the number over-rated. It contains also a considerable number of stores, shops, and other buildings. These are generally neat and cheerful, and several of the houses are very large, expensive, and splendid. A part of this village lies in the township of Milton.

Dr. Seaman determines, that these waters contain in solution carbonic acid, muriate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of soda, carbonate of iron, and carbonate of magnesia. The result of an analysis, said to have been made by a French chemist of distinction, and published here in 1808, Dr. Sea-

the winter or summer; neither does the season appear to have any effect in diminishing or increasing the quantity of water."

Dr. Steel gives the following as the actual contents of one gallon, or 232 cubic inches of the water, the result of repeated experiments:—

Muriate of soda	471.5
Carbonate of lime	178.476
Carbonate of soda	16.5
Carbonate of magnesia	3.356
Carbonate of iron	6.168
Total	676 grains.
Carbonic acid gas	343 cubic inches.

"It will be perceived by the above statement," he adds, "that the quantity of fixed air vastly exceeds any thing yet discovered, and that this, combined with the marine salt and various carbonates, give to the waters of this fountain, in their cathartic properties, a decided preference over every thing of the kind hitherto known."

There are several other fountains of mineral waters at the village of Saratoga, but as they are inferior to the Congress spring in their medicinal properties, their names only will be inserted:—Columbian spring, Red spring, Flat Rock spring, Washington spring, High Rock spring, Hamilton spring, and President spring.—*Pub.*

man, apparently upon solid grounds, pronounces to be materially erroneous*.

The Ballston waters may be drunk in prodigious quantities, without producing uneasiness. They are strongly diuretic, gently diaphoretic, and purgative. They sometimes, though very rarely, operate as an emetic; are a pleasant and powerful stimulus to the stomach, and produce a fine exhilaration of the spirits. It will be supposed that they create and increase an appetite for food. They also sometimes induce a vertigo, and have been followed by inebriety and drowsiness. Their effects are by Dr. Seaman ascribed chiefly to the carbonic acid, salt, and iron.

The diseases in which Doctor Seaman supposes them to be most useful are the dispepsy, corroding ulcers, calculous complaints, cutaneous eruptions, and scrofula. To persons affected with the pulmonic consumption, they are, I believe, regularly injurious.

The waters of the Saratoga springs, as will be easily believed from the analysis given above, produce, generally, the same effects with those of Ballston. The Congress spring, the principal of the southern cluster, is much more purgative than

* Dr. Steel gives the following analysis of the principal fountain at Ballston Spa. "One gallon, or 232 cubic inches of the water, yielded the following result:—

Muriate of soda	159
Carbonate of soda	9
Carbonate of lime	75.5
Carbonate of magnesia	2.5
Carbonate of iron	7.
	253 grains.
Carbonic acid gas	210 cubic inches."

These waters are considered in the neighbouring region, by the farmers, as an excellent beverage; and during the warm season of the year, particularly in the time of haying and harvesting, are sent for from six to ten miles around, and are used as a refreshment amid the labours of the field; in this manner superseding to a great extent the use of ardent spirits.

Large quantities of the water of this spring, and of the Congress spring at Saratoga, during the summer months, are bottled and transmitted weekly to the cities on the sea coast. Indeed, these waters have become so much an article of merchandize, that considerable quantities of them are exported every year to the West Indies and to Europe.—*Pub.*

any of the others, and is pleasant to the taste. The Ballston waters are also generally declared to be palatable at first, and after a little use are preferred by most persons to any other beverage.

I visited these springs in 1792. They were then surrounded by an absolute forest, spreading every way to a great distance. There was not a house within two or three miles, so far as I had opportunity to observe, except a miserable cottage or two, in their near neighbourhood. The Rev. Mr. Ball, from whom this township derives its name, and originally the principal proprietor, accompanied me to the spot. He informed me, that these waters were discovered by the resort of deer to them, which was so great as to have made a well-beaten path. This fact being singular, awakened a curiosity in some of the first settlers to learn the cause. Soon after the discovery, they began to be used as remedies for various diseases, particularly for the chronic rheumatism, which they have sometimes cured in a remarkable manner. From that time they began to be visited by a considerable number of people. Within the last fifteen years the spot has become a favourite and fashionable watering place, not only for medical purposes, but still more for those of pleasure and dissipation. When I was on the ground I was informed, that they had been visited by two thousand persons this season. A great multitude of people from the southern states land at New-York, whence they proceed up the Hudson to Albany, and thence to Ballston in stages, every convenience for travelling being here supplied. Hence they proceed to the springs of Saratoga, to Glen's Falls, and to Lake George. A great number of them, after residing here through a part, or the whole of the season, which usually commences about the beginning of July, and terminates early in September, proceed either to the falls of Niagara, or cross the country to Boston and Portland, returning by the coast to New-York.

A still greater number of persons resort hither from this and the neighbouring states. There is reason, therefore, to believe, that this settlement will at no great distance of time become large and populous, and that all the scenes of dissipation, which have been customarily exhibited at watering places in Europe, will be annually repeated here. I might add, with no

small degree of probability, that most of them are annually thus repeated at the present time. As these waters possess the remarkable quality of preventing the maligunant effects of repletion, it may well be expected that they will be a favourite resort of epicures, and, as dissipated men will ordinarily find here companions not less dissipated, they may certainly be expected to seek them in this place. Here, therefore, the sick and the healthy, the lame and the sound, the poor and the rich, the gloomy and the gay, will annually meet together in great multitudes, and form one of the most striking contrasts which can be found in human society. There is, however, but too much reason to fear, that until the human mind shall be sensibly changed in its moral propensities, these aggregations will contribute very little to the melioration of the human heart, or to the improvement of human manners.

In the year 1790, Ballston, then a large tract within the existing county of Albany, contained 7,333 inhabitants. It included, as I believe, the townships of Galway, Milton, Charlton, and Malta, and perhaps some others. Since that time it has been divided again. In 1800, it contained 2,099 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,155.

It has generally a much better soil than the country from Glen's Falls to the Springs. The surface is formed chiefly of open hills and vallies. The forests are principally composed of hard wood of various kinds. The soil is either clay, or a stiff loam. The ground is sufficiently cleared and well cultivated. The houses are to a great extent good, and the inhabitants are evidently in easy circumstances.

We left Ballston Spa at three o'clock, and reached Schenectady a little after sun-set; sixteen miles. The first part of our journey lay upon a direct turnpike road, which was very good. The remainder was winding, obscure, and disagreeable, and neither the soil nor the surface, the buildings nor the people, presented a single object, which was alluring to the eye. The whole tract is a lean ground, covered chiefly with unthrifty forests, with a few poor-looking houses and forlorn plantations, thinly scattered over the whole extent. We crossed the Mohawk on a good bridge, built at a great expense since the year 1804. I had not time to examine the manner of its construction. The inhabitants commenced

building another, constructed, I believe, in the same manner, before this date, but unfortunately it was swept away by the current before it was finished.

In the morning we called on the Rev. Dr. Nott, president of Union college, and with him and Mr. Macauley, one of the professors, visited the new Presbyterian church, a very pretty building, lately erected, from which we proceeded to a rising ground on the south-eastern skirt of the city, to which, Dr. Nott informed us, it is proposed to remove this seminary. The spot is about one half a mile from the centre of Schenectady. The ground is a handsome acclivity, ascending towards the south-east, and bordered on the south-west by the great road to Albany and Troy. The corporation have purchased here a tract of seventy acres, as the future site of all their collegiate buildings, both public and private. The design is certainly happy, and promises a desirable change in the circumstances of the seminary. The students, in consequence of their removal, will be placed under the eye of their instructors, and secluded from many temptations and many haunts, whence they could derive nothing but harm. The prospect is extensive and pleasant, and it seems as if the situation must be healthy.

I found Schenectady considerably improved.

We took an early dinner and proceeded to Troy. The country between Schenectady and the Cohoes (the first object of our attention) is sufficiently dull, a fair counterpart to that through which we had travelled the preceding afternoon. The first thirteen miles our road was a turnpike, the rest of the way amounting to five more, was winding, difficult to find, and more difficult to travel. Throughout the whole distance we scarcely met with an agreeable object. This uninviting region is principally in the township of Watervliet, an extensive tract between Albany and the Mohawk, bounded on the eastern side by the Hudson. In the year 1790, it contained 7,419 inhabitants; in 1800, having been sub-divided, it contained 5,092; and in the year 1810, having been again sub-divided, it contained 2,365.

After a tedious ride we reached the Cohoes, where we made a long pause in our ride, for the purpose of contemplating this fine scene. The river was low, but I was better

pleased with the appearance of the cataract than at any time heretofore. The face of the precipice was sensibly worn since the year 1802, and presented more and bolder varieties to the view than at that time. There was visibly less water running here than we found at Salisbury. A great part of the precipice was naked. After we had satisfied our curiosity we crossed the Mohawk, and, passing through Waterford, crossed the Hudson also on a handsome bridge to Lansingburgh. In the evening we rode to Troy.

Lansingburgh is built on a handsome plain upon the border of the Hudson. The principal street lies parallel with the river. The number of houses is perhaps two hundred and fifty, generally decent buildings. It contains two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The bed of the Hudson against Lansingburgh is obstructed by a rift of rocks. The inhabitants, who were collected to this spot by high-raised expectations of prosperous trade, have been seriously disappointed in their hopes of clearing the river of these obstructions. Yet they are not discouraged, the legislature having lately made them a grant, which, they believe, will go far towards accomplishing their wishes.

The road from Lansingburgh to Troy, three miles, is a continued village. In the year 1810, Lansingburgh contained 1,658 inhabitants. In the census of 1800 it was included in the township of Troy.

Troy is one of the most beautiful and well-built towns which I have seen. From Water Street, which extends one or two miles along the river, five others proceed in a southern direction obliquely to the river, which here bends toward the west. These are crossed by eight others at right angles. The streets are wide, straight, and spacious; and the town, independently of the direction of Water Street, perfectly regular. In the year 1789, the ground on which Troy stands was a field belonging to a Dutch gentleman, whose name was Vanderheyden. Originally the township was large. It is now only three miles in length on the river, and scarcely a mile in breadth. The houses in it must of course be new. The number of them is a little short of six hundred. They are chiefly of brick, generally very neat, and often handsome. The public buildings are a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, a Baptist,

and a Methodist church, and a Friends' meeting-house; a court-house, a gaol, and two banks. The new bank is a handsome building; the other public buildings are decent. The streets are prettily set with trees, and the houses ornamented with gardens and other neat appendages. Upon the whole, there is hardly a town, in the country forming the subject of these Letters, which makes so cheerful, brilliant, and beautiful an appearance.

Water Street, on the side towards the river, is lined with large stores, many of which are of three and four stories, and are all furnished with wharfs.

The river to this place holds the same depth as to Albany.

The site of Troy, and of Lansingburgh also, is an elevated, hard, gravelly plain. The scenery around it is delightful. Behind it is Mount Ida, a very handsome eminence. Before it is the Hudson; here a noble stream, with its islands, and beautiful western shore. Above, at the distance of three miles, are the villages of Lansingburgh and Waterford. Below, at the distance of six, is the city of Albany.

Troy and Lansingburgh are both settlements, formed for the purposes of trade. Antecedently to the embargo in 1809, Troy was one of the most prosperous towns in the American Union. The inhabitants had engrossed most of the trade carried on by the county of Washington, part of the county of Rensselaer, and the western half of Vermont. That disastrous measure, and those which followed it, drove the people of Vermont to Montreal. This channel of commerce having been thus fairly opened, the stream will not probably return to its former bed without extreme difficulty. I was assured, in Troy, that real property had by these measures already lost one-fourth part of its value.

Troy, in the year 1800, then a large township, contained 4,926 inhabitants. In 1810, the present Troy contained 3,895.

The next morning, Saturday, September 28th, we proceeded to Albany. Here we continued until Tuesday morning, in a circle of friends, from whom we received every pleasure which can spring from enlightened and refined society. This city is exceedingly improved. In the year 1792, there were very few houses built in the modern English manner. The

body was composed of clumsy Dutch buildings, a great number of which had been erected from eighty to one hundred years. Seven successive fires, five of which were kindled by incendiaries, have swept away a large part of these, as well as many other buildings, so that the inhabitants have been compelled to build a considerable part of the town anew. In the year 1790, Albany contained 3,498 inhabitants; in the year 1810, 9,356. The little town of Colonie, which lies on its northern skirt, separated only by a legal line, and inseparable by the eye (so that it is really as much a part of this city as the same number of houses in any other quarter), contains 1,406; making together 10,762. Albany therefore has more than tripled its population in twenty years: Colonie not having been separated from it in the census of 1790. Two-thirds of its houses must, of course, have been added since the first of these dates. Besides, a considerable number of houses have been pulled down to make way for better buildings, to furnish convenience, gratify ambition, or satisfy the calculations of avarice. From these causes Albany is become in its appearance a new town, and is certainly a very handsome one. The public buildings have been as much improved as the private ones. These are the state-house, a house for the great offices of state, ten churches, an arsenal, a prison, and three banks. The state-house is a handsome building at the head of State Street, in a noble situation, and furnishes from its cupola a rich and extensive prospect. It contains chambers for the senate and the house of representatives, a court-room, jury-rooms, offices, and lobbies. Its external appearance would have been much improved by the addition of a third story.

The churches are generally good buildings. The Episcopal church stands on State Street, in a commanding situation, and is a rich, expensive structure, but heavy to the eye. The Dutch church in Pearl-street I mentioned heretofore. The new Dutch church, on Hudson Street, is one of the best and most beautiful edifices of this nature which I have seen.

The streets are generally well paved. Upon the whole, few towns in this country appear so advantageously to the eye as Albany.

The inhabitants, you will perceive from the account which I have given of its population, are chiefly immigrants, derived from many countries and different nations. Most of them, however, are from the United States; particularly from New-York and New-England. The state of society must of course be various. Extensively, it is intelligent and refined, and we found it uncommonly agreeable. The inhabitants deserve much credit for their public spirit. A general disposition prevails among them to increase the beauty of the town, and add to the number of its conveniences, the fruits of which are extensively visible. Among other improvements, they have begun to supply the city with water by aqueducts, the water of their wells being hard and disagreeable.

In my own opinion, the people of Albany are advancing in their moral and religious character.

The commerce of this city has become very great, and many of its merchants are wealthy. Such are its advantages for trade, that it must become a large commercial town, and have a very numerous population.

On Tuesday we left Albany, at eleven o'clock, and rode to Kinderhook to dinner, seventeen miles; and after dinner proceeded to Hudson, sixteen.

I have nothing to add to what I formerly observed concerning this tract, except that I found Kinderhook and Hudson improved. In its moral concerns the latter is sensibly altered for the better. The inhabitants have lately settled a respectable Presbyterian clergyman, to whom they are strongly attached, and who is labouring among them with great diligence, and, as I believe, with the happiest efficacy.

We continued here but one night. The next morning, October 1st, we rode to Red Hook to dinner, eighteen miles; and in the afternoon to Rhinebeck flats, eight. We stopped early, because there was no inn within our reach where we could find tolerable accommodations. The country, from the city of Hudson to Red Hook, is undulating, not very pleasant, nor very fertile. The first part of our road lay through the township of Livingston, the next through that of Clermont, both of them settled in scattered plantations, and neither presenting any thing on the road to engage the attention of a

traveller. The houses are generally indifferent, the cultivation ordinary, and the circumstances of the inhabitants apparently not very prosperous.

In the year 1790, the township of Livingston contained 4,594 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 7,405. Since that period it has been divided, and two other townships taken from it, *viz.* Granger and Gallatin. The present township of Livingston contained, in 1810, 1,651.

Clermont contained, in 1790, 867; in 1800, 1,142; in 1810, 1,090 inhabitants.

From Hudson to Red Hook, and somewhat farther, we had a turnpike-road. We then found the country chiefly a plain through the township of Rhinebeck; and the road of the common kind, but good, except that at times it was sandy. The prospects also were pleasanter to the eye; and the soil, cultivation, and houses better. At Red Hook there are two decent villages, with a church in each. They are both small. At Rhinebeck flats, eight miles further down, there is a larger and handsomer village.

Rhinebeck, except these villages, is everywhere filled up with plantations, and the inhabitants appear to be in easy circumstances.

The Kaatskill mountains are here continually in view; and by their grandeur, the fine forms of their summits, and their continually varying aspect, contribute not a little to render this an interesting ride. Rhinebeck contained, in 1790, 3,662 inhabitants; in 1800, 4,022; and, in 1810, 4,486.

In the morning, Thursday, October 3d, we left Rhinebeck flats, and rode to Poughkeepsie to dinner, seventeen miles. The first part of our road, after we left Rhinebeck, lay through Clinton, a contrast to Rhinebeck, being remarkably rough, and replenished with rocks and stones. The soil also was to a great extent lean, and a part of the road ill-repaired and disagreeable. Yet there were several circumstances which rendered this part of our journey particularly pleasant. The road turned towards the river, and gave us an almost continual and ever varying view of that magnificent stream, with the Kaatskill mountains rising majestically on the western side. As we advanced we came to a turnpike-road, which was well made, and conducted us to Poughkeepsie. Soon after we

entered upon it, we found a very pretty village on a beautiful plain. Several handsome villas, also, added a new and charming variety to the scenery. The river, highly interesting in itself, was the more so, because we had seen it but once after leaving the hills east of Green-Bush; *viz.* at the city of Hudson.

Here I observed that the Kaatskill mountains, at the southern termination of their eastern front, recede to the south-west, so that the whole range assumes the form of a crescent.

This township is universally settled, and on our road exhibited more marks of improvement than either of the three preceding. In 1790, it contained 4,607 inhabitants; in 1800, 5,208; and, in 1810, 5,494. From Clinton to Poughkeepsie the country is pleasant, and the soil fertile.

Poughkeepsie is a beautiful town, resembling, more than most others in this state, a New-England settlement.

Many of the houses are pretty buildings, surrounded by neat appendages. The situation is elevated, and sufficiently level to be handsome. The soil on which it stands is rich. The streets, which are of a good breadth, are handsomely set with trees. Gardens, neat and productive, and lots covered with fine verdure, are often beautiful ornaments to the houses.

This town contains a considerable proportion of intelligent and polished society, a small circle of which made our little stay very agreeable.

There is a flourishing academy in Poughkeepsie. A considerable trade is here carried on with New-York, from a landing, which is at the distance of a mile in a south-western direction.

Poughkeepsie is the shire town of Dutchess county; one of the best tracts of land in this state, and indeed in the United States. It is filled up with inhabitants, and remarkably well cultivated. Its length is about fifty miles, and its breadth about twenty-five. It is bounded on the north by the county of Columbia, on the east by Connecticut, on the south by the county of West-Chester, and on the west by the Hudson; and contains sixteen townships, generally large, and a population of 51,412.

Poughkeepsie is excellent land. In 1790, its inhabitants were 2,529; in 1800, 3,246; and, in 1810, 4,670.

We left Poughkeepsie about three o'clock, and rode to Fishkill; fourteen miles.

The country through which we passed was undulating, the soil and cultivation moderately good, the houses indifferent, and the scenery distinguished by nothing remarkable.

Fishkill is a town of perhaps twenty or thirty houses, generally neat, and built on a beautiful plain, surrounded by interesting objects. The plain is the bottom of a flat valley, having an elegant surface; extending indefinitely from east to west, and perhaps three miles in breadth from north to south. On the north it is bounded by a succession of hills, arched with fine varieties, and on the south by a range of mountains; the northern section of that elevated tract, universally known here by the name of the Highlands. Through this range, and the cluster connected with it on the south, the Hudson has forced a winding passage and a deep channel, furnishing, with its shores, one of the most romantic scenes in this country.

The soil of the Fishkill valley is excellent. The stream which flows through it, and has given its name to the township, is a large and very sprightly mill-stream, bordered by a chain of rich and elegant intervals; the more delightful to us, as we had seen nothing of this nature since we left Kinderhook. It is not often that beauty and grandeur are so happily combined as in this spot, nor is the sense of stillness and retirement often excited in a higher degree.

There is a decent Dutch church in this settlement. There are five churches of different denominations in Poughkeepsie.

In the year 1790, Fishkill contained 5,941 inhabitants; in 1800, 6,168; and, in 1810, 6,930.

Thursday, October 3d, we started early, and rode to Peekskill, nineteen miles, to dinner. Our journey, the first three miles, lay in the valley of Fishkill, the remaining sixteen passed over the Highlands. The first part of the road, after we began to ascend the mountains, we found tolerably good; lying in an open valley, very gradually rising. The remainder is a turnpike, judiciously directed, and well made. I had been taught to expect a hideous passage over these mountains. To the inhabitants of the city of New-York, who have conversed with me on the subject, it has appeared very formidable. We found it otherwise, in a degree which I confess I

had not expected. The only difficult place is a declivity at the southern extremity. Upon the whole, there are several ascents and descents in the road from Pittsfield to Northampton, compared with which all the difficulties in this passage over the Highlands are trifles.

This mountainous region is in the township of Phillipstown. We found along the road many settlements, which appeared to be sprightly and promising. The houses were frequently neat, and the owners were plainly in very comfortable circumstances. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants in this township was 2,079; in 1800, 2,754; and, in 1810, 3,129.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Colonel Beverly Robinson. Prospect in the Highlands. Visit to Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Expedition of the British up the Hudson. Peekskill. Cortlandt. Prospect of the Hudson and its Shores below the Highlands. Mount Pleasant. Greenburgh. Yonkers. Capture and death of Major Andre. The River Hudson and its tributary Streams.

DEAR SIR;

IN the year 1778, while I was a chaplain in the American army, I spent between four and five months in the Highlands, at West Point; a promontory, which juts into the river on the west side, in the township of Cornwall and county of Orange, directly opposite to Phillipstown. A part of this time I resided at the head-quarters of General Putnam, then commanding at this post; and afterwards of General Parsons, who succeeded him in the command. These gentlemen lodged in the house of Colonel Beverly Robinson; a respectable native of Scotland, who married a lady of the Phillips family, one of the wealthiest and most respectable of the province of New-York. With this lady Colonel Robinson acquired a large landed estate, lying in Phillipstown, Fredericktown, and Franklin, as they are now called; and, for the more convenient management of it, planted himself in this spot. Here he had a spacious and convenient mansion, surrounded by valuable gardens, fields, and orchards, yielding every thing which will grow in this climate. The rents of his estate were sufficient to make life as agreeable as from this source it can be. Mrs. Robinson was a fine woman, and their children promised every thing which can be expected from a very hopeful family. His immediate friends were, at the same time, persons of the first consequence in the province.

When the revolutionary war broke out, Colonel Robinson was induced, contrary, as I have been informed, to his own judgment and inclination, by the importunity of some of his connections, to take the British side of the question. To him it appeared wiser and safer to act a neutral part, and remain quietly on his estate. The pressure, however, from various sources was so strong against him, that he finally yielded, and carried his family with him to New-York, and thence to Great Britain. His property was confiscated by the legislature of New-York, and his family banished from their native country. It was impossible for any person, who finds an interest in the affairs of his fellow-men, and particularly while residing in the very mansion where they had so lately enjoyed all which this world can give, not to feel deeply the misfortunes of this family. Few events in human life strike the mind more painfully than banishment; a calamity, sufficiently disastrous in the most ordinary circumstances, but peculiarly affecting when the banished are brought before us in the narrow circle of a family; a circle, the whole of which the eye can see, and whose sufferings the heart can perfectly realize. Peculiarly is this true, when the family in question is enlightened, polished, amply possessed of enjoyments, tasting them with moderation, and sharing them cheerfully with their friends and neighbours, the stranger and the poor. Such, I have sufficient reason to believe, were the circumstances and character of his family. Whatever some of our more resentful countrymen may feel in similar cases concerning the subject, I hope always to be able to say, and to say truly,

"Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto."

If a heathen theatrical audience could applaud this sentiment from a writer and an actor of plays, I have the best right to assure myself, that my own countrymen, professing the religion of Him, who has left behind him the parable of the Good Samaritan, and a life, formed on the great principle of that parable, will cheerfully subjoin their assent to these observations.

The head quarters of a commanding officer are, of necessity, a scene of bustle and business. Such at that time was particularly the case with ours. On the 15th of March, which was

Sunday, we attended Divine service in the morning. After it was ended, the house was filled with a succession of officers, and others, who came in to receive orders, or to report the manner in which they had executed those which they had already received. To withdraw ourselves from such a scene of confusion, Major Humphreys*, an intimate friend of mine from the time when we were fellow-students at Yale college, and myself, determined to seek the only retreat in our power, a solitary walk. Accordingly we wandered to the top of Sugar-Loaf, a mountain of considerable height, at a small distance to the south from Colonel Robinson's. These observations will introduce with a sufficient explicitness the following letter, from which you will derive a more distinct view of the appearance of the most interesting part of the Highlands, than I can give you in any other manner.

"Yesterday afternoon, in company with Major Humphreys, I went up to the summit of Sugar-Loaf, a mountain near Colonel Robinson's house. We ascended it with some difficulty, from the steepness of the acclivity, and from the loose stones, which, frequently sliding from under our feet, exposed us to imminent hazard of falling. From the summit we were presented with an extensive and interesting prospect, comprising the objects which I have heretofore mentioned, and many others, which I had never seen. The point of view was remarkably happy, the mountain being so situated as to bring within our reach the greatest number of objects in the surrounding region, and to exhibit them with the highest advantage. What is almost a singularity, there was not a cheerful object within our horizon. Every thing which we beheld was majestic, solemn, wild, and melancholy.

"The northern division of our prospect was almost entirely bounded by two great mountains, named Butterhill and Brecknock: the former on the west, the latter on the east side of the Hudson. Both abut so directly upon the river, that their rude, lofty cliffs form a part of its banks. These mountains ascend at the distance of, perhaps, six miles from the spot, where we surveyed them, and extend northward to the valley of Fishkill.

* The late General David Humphreys.—*Pub.*

"From Brecknock stretches a range of inferior magnitude, at the distance of half a mile, one, and two miles from the eastern shore of the Hudson; the ground between them and the river, being generally level, and capable of cultivation. It contains a small number of other houses, besides that of Colonel Robinson. Of this range Sugar-Loaf is the termination, its southern limit being the river.

"Still eastward of this range ascend others, terminating also on the Hudson. The southernmost, which is in sight on the eastern side, and indeed the southernmost of the whole cluster, is Anthony's Nose; a noble bluff, whose cliffs rise almost perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of perhaps fifteen hundred feet, with a sublimity, which I believe is not often rivalled.

"On the western side runs a rude range of mountains, commencing at Butter Hill, and terminating to the eye at a point, opposite to Anthony's Nose. The three loftiest summits in this range are the Crow's Nest, a fine sharp cone; Bear Hill; and the Donderbarrak, or Thunder Hill. At the foot of these commences a plain of no great breadth, if I may be permitted to call that a plain, which, while it approaches generally towards a level surface, is undulating, rocky, and wild, throughout a great part of its extent. This tract reaches northward to West-Point, and southward near to Anthony's Nose. Directly north, the Hudson, here a mile in breadth, and twice as wide higher up, is seen descending from a great distance, and making its way between the magnificent cliffs of the two great mountains, Butter Hill and Brecknock. The grandeur of this scene defies description. Through the opening, here called the Wey-gat, or Wind-gate, because the wind often blows through it with great violence, is visible the cultivated country at New-Windsor, throughout a considerable extent. Beyond this, at the distance of about forty miles, rise the Kaatskill mountains; whose blue summits were at this time lost in the clouds. In this reach of the river lies an island, to the eye a mere bird's nest; and near it were two boats, resembling in size those which children make of paper.

"South of these two mountains, the river bends between West-Point and Fort Constitution; and for a short space is

invisible. Thence it becomes visible again, and continues in sight till the prospect is terminated by Anthony's Nose on the eastern, and Bear Hill on the western side.

"The water of the Hudson at this season of the year is replenished with slime. Its colour, therefore, is brown and gloomy; and, being tinged with a peculiar hue by the almost singular light of the heavens, assumed an aspect, deeply solemn and even melancholy. The motion of its waters was slow and majestic, as was evident by the progress of large floats of ice, which covered various parts of its surface. The general gloom was not a little enhanced by the appearance of its western bank, which is everywhere high, rocky, and savage, and in many places topped with evergreens.

"On the level mentioned above, of which this bank is the brow, stand, in a solitary dispersion, a few wretched cottages; which, with the river on one side, and the mountains on the other, appear to be shut out from any communication with the rest of mankind. With this impression the appearance of the inhabitants perfectly corresponds, as does every thing, also, which is connected with their habitations. No human beings can easily be imagined more ignorant, uncultivated, and stupid; or more readily admitted as the connecting link between the rational and animal kingdoms than the former; and nothing can more strongly exhibit the marks of poverty and barbarism than the latter.

"Cottages, which are exact counter-parts to these, were thinly sprinkled over the mountainous region on the east, in size resembling a dove cage; surrounded by little fields, covered with snow, and spotting with white the vast expansion of forest, with which these mountains are overspread. Each seemed as if itself and its inhabitants must have been dropped from the clouds, in places, to which the rest of the world would never have access; and out of which they would never find a way into the world.

"It is difficult to conceive of any thing more solemn or more wild than the appearance of these mountains. An immense forest covered them to their summits. Its colour was a deep brown, its aspect that of universal death. The sun had far declined in the west. Clouds, of a singular and misty appearance, overcast his splendour; and, arraying his face with a

melancholy sadness, imparted a kind of funeral aspect to every object within our horizon.

"Directly opposite to us was a mill-stream, which, swollen at this time by the dissolving snows, poured a large sheet of foam, white as snow, over a high ledge of rocks into the Hudson. In other circumstances this object would have been beautiful: now it only enhanced the general solemnity and grandeur by filling the neighbouring region with a loud sound, resembling the distant roar of the ocean. This sound was apparently echoed by the numerous torrents, which were everywhere rushing down the mountains. In the mean time, the large floats of ice, which I have mentioned, sailing down the river, occasionally impinged against the shores. The noise produced by this impact, scarcely audible at first, gradually swelled into the majestic sound of loud thunder, and then slowly decreased, until it was finally lost. Frequently these gradations were interluded by violent explosions, made by the bursting of the ice, and resembling the sound of distant cannon. Nothing could be more favourable to this combination of majestic murmurs than the deep, hollow region beneath us. Every mountain seemed to give a response; and through every valley the noise seemed to wander circuitously, till it reached us in successive repercussions. Delighted as you know I am with music, no choir, which I ever heard, gave me a tenth part of the pleasure.

"Beneath us was a house, deserted by its inhabitants; a family, possessed, a little while since, of all the enjoyments which this life can furnish; intelligent, refined, and amiable. It is deserted, not improbably to be seen by them no more. Whether the father acted wisely or unwisely, defensibly or indefensibly, I am not interested to inquire. Against the mother and the children, even prejudice can bring no allegation. Were this family that, in which I was born, what emotions would their present and future circumstances awaken in my heart? I cannot but remember, that their interests are not the less important, because they are not related to me.

"Southward, at the distance of perhaps four miles, were the ruins of Fort Montgomery. Here more than one hundred of our countrymen became victims, a few months since, to the unprincipled claims of avarice and ambition. These, with count-

less millions more, will at the final judgment rise up as terrible witnesses against the pride, rapacity, and cruelty of those who have been the ultimate causes of their destruction.

"Northward, at about the same distance, was West-Point: where the same scenes of slaughter may not improbably be soon acted over again.

"The day was warm and spring-like. The season of universal beneficence was approaching, when the world was to be arrayed in beauty, and stored with the bounties of Heaven. The campaign was ready to open; a campaign, in which a thousand unnecessary miseries will be suffered. Parents will be made childless, wives will be made widows, and children will be made orphans. Many a house where peace, cheerfulness, and delight, would love to dwell, will probably be reduced to ashes, and many a family to want and despair."

Early in the May subsequent to the date of the preceding letter, I went down the river in company with several officers to examine the forts Montgomery and Clinton, built on a point, six or eight miles below West-Point, for the defence of the river. The first object which met our eyes, after we had left our barge and ascended the bank, was the remains of a fire, kindled by the cottagers of this solitude, for the purpose of consuming the bones of some of the Americans, who had fallen at this place, and had been left unburied. Some of these bones were lying partially consumed round the spot where the fire had been kindled, and some had, evidently, been converted into ashes. As we went onward, we were distressed by the fœtor of decayed human bodies. To me this was a novelty, and more overwhelming and dispiriting than I am able to describe. As we were attempting to discover the source from which it proceeded, we found, at a small distance from Fort Montgomery, a pond of a moderate size, in which we saw the bodies of several men, who had been killed in the assault upon the fort. They were thrown into this pond, the preceding autumn, by the British; when, probably, the water was sufficiently deep to cover them. Some of them were covered at this time, but at a depth so small as to leave them distinctly visible. Others had an arm, a leg, and a part of the body above the surface. The clothes which they wore, when they were killed, were still on them, and proved that

they were militia, being the ordinary dress of farmers. Their faces were bloated and monstrous, and their postures were undouth, distorted, and in the highest degree afflictive. My companions had been accustomed to the horrors of war, and sustained the prospect with some degree of firmness. To me, a novice in scenes of this nature, it was overwhelming. I surveyed it for a moment, and hastened away.

From this combination of painful objects we proceeded to Fort Clinton, built on a rising ground, at a small distance further down the river. The ruins of this fortress were a mere counterpart to those of Fort Montgomery. Every thing combustible, in both, had been burnt; and what was not was extensively thrown down. Every thing which remained was a melancholy picture of destruction.

From this place we proceeded to find the grave of Count Grabouski, a Polish nobleman, who was killed in the assault, while acting as aid de camp to the British commander. The spot was pointed out to us by Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, who saw him fall, and informed us, that he was buried in the place where he was killed. Here we found a grave, in all probability that in which he was buried, without "a stone" to "tell where he lay," and now forgotten and undiscoverable: a humiliating termination of a restless, vain, ambitious life.

These forts were taken by the British on the 6th of October, 1777. The commander in chief at New-York was prompted to this expedition by two objects, to destroy a quantity of military stores which the Americans had collected in this neighbourhood, and to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne. For these purposes Sir Henry Clinton embarked between three and four thousand troops at New-York, and sailed with them up the Hudson. On the 5th of October, they landed at Verplank's Point in the township of Courtlandt, a few miles below the entrance of the Highlands. The next morning a part of them landed on Stony Point, which projects into the river on the western side, just below the mountains. Hence they marched into the rear of these fortresses.

General Putnam commanded at that time in this region. He had one thousand continental troops, a part of which only were effective, and a small body of militia. He believed the principal design of the enemy to be the destruction of the

stores; and, when he was informed of their main purpose, it was too late for him to resist it with success. He supposed that they were aiming at Fort Independence, and directed his attention to its defence. The heavy firing on the opposite side of the river gave him the first decisive information of their real intentions. George Clinton, Esq., at that time governor of this state, placed himself at this post (for it may be considered as but one) on the first notice, which he received that the enemy were advancing. Being informed about ten o'clock of this fact, he made the best disposition for the defence of the forts; and dispatched an express to General Putnam to acquaint him with his situation. When the express reached General Putnam's head-quarters, he, together with General Parsons, were reconnoitering the position of the enemy on the eastern side of the river.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the mean time, proceeded with nine hundred men, by a circuitous march to the rear of Fort Montgomery: while Sir Henry Clinton, with Generals Vaughan and Tryon, moved onward towards Fort Clinton. Both fortresses were attacked at once, between four and five in the afternoon. They were defended with great resolution. This will be readily admitted, when it is remembered, that the whole garrison consisted of but six hundred men. The conflict was carried on till dark, when the British had obtained an absolute possession; and such of the Americans, as were not killed or wounded, chiefly made their escape. The loss of the two garrisons amounted to about two hundred and fifty. There is reason to believe, that that of the assailants amounted to more than three hundred. Among the slain was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

It has been thought, that an addition of five or six hundred men to these garrisons would have saved the works. The correctness of this opinion may be doubted. Fifteen hundred men would have been barely sufficient completely to man Fort Montgomery alone. The works themselves were very imperfect: and the ground must, I think, have been chosen rather for the defence of the river than because it was itself defensible.

Governor Clinton and his brother, General James Clinton, escaped after the enemy had got possession of the forts; the

former by crossing the river. General Clinton had been wounded in the thigh by a bayonet.

Having prospered thus far, the British proceeded on the 8th to the eastern side, where they found Fort Independence, built to defend the entrance into the Highlands, evacuated. A party of them then burnt the Continental Village, as it was termed: a temporary settlement, raised up by the war for the accommodation of the army. Here had been gathered a considerable number of those artizans, whose labours are particularly necessary for military purposes, and a considerable quantity of military stores. They then removed a chain, which was stretched across the river at Fort Montgomery; and, advancing up the river, removed another, which was extended from Fort Constitution to the opposite shore at West-Point. This fort had been evacuated. General Vaughan, with a strong body of troops, moved onward in a part of the fleet, commanded by Sir James Wallace; and on the 13th reached the town of Kingston opposite to Rhinebeck. The inhabitants retired without resistance, and Vaughan reduced the town to ashes. On the 17th General Burgoyne surrendered, and Vaughan and his coadjutors returned to New-York.

Phillipstown, in the year 1790, contained 2,079 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,744; and, in 1810, 3,129.

Immediately at the foot of the mountains, we found a most romantic spot on the borders of Peeks-kill; a creek, which within the township of Courtlandt enters the Hudson just below this place. A small lake here expands its waters, into which the mountains intrude, as into Lake George; forming promontories of fine figures, bold, precipitous, and eminently magnificent.

The village of Peeks-kill is decently built, contains perhaps fifty or sixty houses, and carries on a considerable commerce between the interior country and the city of New-York. We dined here, and in the afternoon proceeded to Tarrytown, a village in Greenburgh, where we lodged. This part of our journey lay through Courtlandt and Mount Pleasant, and the northern skirt of Greenburgh. The distance was eighteen miles. The whole of this tract is in the county of West-Chester.

Courtlandt, so far as it is visible on this road, is universally a succession of rough, ragged hills, with rude intervening valleys. The ground is almost everywhere replenished with rocks and stones, and the surface sudden and angular. On this ground, however, and particularly in the northern parts of the road, where it first strikes the river below the village of Peeks-kill, we were presented with a beautiful prospect. The Hudson here, escaping from the Highlands, spreads itself in a winding course until it opens into Haverstraw Bay, between this township and Haverstraw, in the county of Rockland, a noble sheet of water, ten miles long and three broad, terminating at Verplank's Point on the east; a fine promontory at the southern limit of Courtlandt, which stretches into the Hudson the distance of a mile, with an elegance of form and surface admirably contrasted to the rude appearance of that of the main with which it is connected. Immediately beyond this point extends Tappan Sea, another fine expansion of this river, stretching to the south from twelve to fifteen miles, and opening to the breadth of four. Still further southward, the river, at an average two miles wide, leaves the eye by a gradual recession. There is something wonderfully majestic in the size, figure, and movement of such a vast stream; particularly when animated, as the Hudson now was, and indeed always is, except during the severity of winter, by a great multitude of vessels, moving on its bosom in every direction. To the splendour of this river its western bank makes a great addition; being everywhere a series of fine lofty precipices, ascending from one hundred to four hundred feet immediately from the shore, and stretching in length beyond the reach of the eye. This series is varied by two promontories, at the happiest distance from each other, jutting into the river, of noble forms, and in proud, commanding attitudes. But the consummation of this scene of splendour is presented at its northern limit. Here the Hudson, breaking out from the Highlands, forces its way between the two mountains mentioned above, whose stupendous cliffs, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height, form its shores and frown over its bosom. The traveller, who does not here find himself amply repaid for whatever inconveniences he may have suffered in descending this river, must certainly be

pitied, as being destitute of that taste for the beauties of nature, which is one of the pricipal sources of enjoyment in the present world.

Our road through this township was in other respects sufficiently unpleasant, and our progress in it was terminated by a wretched ferry over Croton river, near its mouth. This is a large mill-stream, which, rising in the township of Pawling, in the county of Dutchess, runs southward into the county of West-Chester; and, after passing through a considerable part of it, empties its waters at the southern limit of the township of Courtlandt into the Hudson. Its bed is a ravine, between hills from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, and scarcely wider than is necessary for the passage of the river. Few scenes have a wilder or more gloomy aspect. A woman managed our boat (a fact of which I was a witness for the first time), not with oars, but with a rope, extended across the stream.

After crossing the river we soon entered the township of Mount Pleasant, the surface of which is a contrast to that of Courtlandt. The ground here also is elevated, but the surface is smooth, flowing, and beautiful; and the soil moderately good. A pretty village is formed on the road, consisting, generally, of neat houses, with a decent church in the centre. This village is handsomer than any other which we saw south of Albany; and its situation in a high degree pleasant. Some of the houses are surrounded by very pretty appendages. The name of the village is Singsing.

From this place to Tarrytown, in Greenburgh, the road is good. The ground is elevated, and descends with a variety of handsome slopes towards the river. It is also alternately level and undulating. The Hudson is perpetually in full view. The cliffs immediately beyond it are peculiarly bold, particularly two long ranges of whin, or green-stone; the columns of which are magnificent, in a manner unrivalled within my knowledge. In these townships granite and lime-stone are mingled. The first granite which we saw on the river was in the Highlands, and was alternated with lime-stone. In the county of West-Chester granite predominates, until finally it becomes universal.

The village of Tarrytown is pleasant, and neatly built. It

stands on an easy declivity, terminated by the Hudson; and is thirty miles from New-York, and about nine below Singsing. It contains fifty or sixty houses.

Courtlandt contained, in 1790, 1,932; in 1800, 2,752; and, in 1810, 3,054 inhabitants. Mount Pleasant contained, in 1790, 1,924; in 1800, 2,744; and, in 1810, 3,119 inhabitants. Greenburgh contained, in 1790, 1,125; in 1800, 1,581; and, in 1810, 1,862 inhabitants.

The next morning we proceeded to New-York, through the township of Yonkers, and the length of the island of Manhattan. Tarrytown is famous for being the spot where Major Andre was taken up by three militia-men, as he was returning from West-Point, whither he had been for the purpose of concerting measures with General Arnold, during the absence of General Washington at Hartford, for the traiterous surrender of that fortress to the British. By a variety of providential incidents, all of them favourable to the American cause, Andre was prevented from returning, as he had intended, by water; and, having received a pass from General Arnold, authorising him under the name of John Anderson to go on the public service to the White-plains, or still further down the river as he might think proper, he made the best of his way by land. His pass enabled him to proceed without hindrance or suspicion to this spot. Here, while he was in absolute security, one of these men, under a large tree, still standing, seized his bridle. Andre, plainly off his guard, asked the man where he belonged. The man replied, "I am from below," that is, from New-York; "and so," said Andre, "am I." He then declared himself to be a British officer, employed in business of great importance. At this moment the other two men came up. He perceived his error, but it could not be repaired. He offered them his watch and a purse of gold, as the price of his release. His offers were refused. The men searched him, and found in his boots papers, written by Arnold himself, containing exact returns of every thing in and about West-Point, which it could be useful for an enemy to know. He was then conducted to Lieutenant-Colonel Jamieson, of Sheldon's dragoons, commanding at that time on the lines. He requested Jamieson to inform Arnold that Anderson was taken. The information

was communicated; and, as he undoubtedly intended, gave Arnold an opportunity of escaping in the Vulture sloop of war, which had conveyed Andre up the river.

Andre then openly declared, that he was the adjutant-general of the British army.

On this return of General Washington to West-Point, a court-martial was appointed for his trial. The facts, so far as they respected himself, he acknowledged without disguise or hesitation. He was pronounced to be a spy, and sentenced to suffer death. The sentence was executed at Tappan, on the opposite shore. He met Arnold on the night of the 21st of September, and died on the 2d of October, 1780. Perhaps no person in the like circumstances was ever more lamented by those, whose prime interests he had attempted to destroy.

The township of Yonkers is much less pleasant than the two preceding, and is remarkable for nothing, except having been the residence of the family of Philipse, one of the most distinguished of those which came as colonists from the United Netherlands. Colonel Philipse, the last branch resident in this country, I knew well. He was a worthy and respectable man, not often excelled in personal and domestic amiableness. Mrs. Philipse was an excellent woman; and the children, the eldest of whom was about seventeen, gave every promise of treading in the same steps. This gentleman was proprietor of the neighbouring country to a great extent, and one of the wealthiest inhabitants of the province of New-York. After a variety of adventures, which need not be recited, he went with his family into the city of New-York, and thence took a passage to England. His property was confiscated.

We reached the city before dinner.

The township of Yonkers contained, in 1790, 1,125 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,176; and, in 1810, 1,365.

The most splendid natural object in the state of New-York, after the two great lakes Erie and Ontario, and far more important than both these to the wealth and convenience of the inhabitants, is the river Hudson. This remarkable stream rises in the county of Essex, and in the township of Tipperary, in about 44° 10′ north latitude. After running a little distance south-west, it turns with a right angle to the south-

east; and continues its course in this direction until it receives, after wandering between fifty and sixty miles, the north-eastern branch, between the townships Thurman and Bolton, in the county of Washington. The north-east branch rises in the township of Crown-Point in Essex also; and, crossing the Scaroon lake, passes between the townships of Bolton and Chester, until it joins the north, or principal branch. The united stream then winding southward on the western side of the township of Fairfield, also in the county of Washington, becomes the northern limit of the county of Saratoga; and the eastern, until it meets the Mohawk. Soon after it crosses the northern extremity of this county, it receives the Sacondaga, or south-western branch. This is a considerable stream, which, rising near the northern extremity of the county of Washington, takes a south-western course into the county of Montgomery; then turns to the south-east, and, entering the county of Saratoga, turns again with an acute angle to the north, to the north-east, and ultimately to the east, crossing that county in its way to the Hudson. The length of the first, or principal branch, is between sixty and seventy miles; of the second, about forty; and of the third, between fifty and sixty. After this junction, the Hudson proceeds still south-eastward into the township of Hadley, in the county of Saratoga, where it turns suddenly to the north-east, and maintains that course to Sandy-Hill. Thence it pursues a direction nearly south, but declining a little to the west, until it enters the ocean, opposite to Sandy-Hook, in the county of Monmouth and state of New-Jersey. Its mouth is in about 40° 34′; and its course from Sandy-Hook (although the region through which it runs is in many places hilly, and in one place a range of mountains) remarkably straight. The whole length of the Hudson, from its fountains to Sandy-Hook, is about 330 miles; 225 of which it pursues a course almost straight from north to south. Beside the three original forks, the principal tributaries of this river are: on the west, Saratoga Creek, or the Kayaderosseras; Norman's-kill; Kaats-kill; Esopus-Creek; and Wall-kill:—on the east, Batten-kill; Hoosac river; Kinderhook creek; Wappenger's creek, and Croton river. To these are to be added the Mohawk, on the west, which empties more water into the Hudson than

all the rest united. Indeed it may be a matter of some difficulty to determine whether the Hudson or the Mohawk conveys the greater quantity of water into the common channel; although, to my own eye, the superiority appears to be fairly challenged by the Hudson.

There are three remarkable expansions of the bed of this river. The lowest is Tappan Bay, or, as it is often called, Tappan Sea, against the townships of Greenburgh and Mount Pleasant, in the county of West-Chester, and that of Tappan in the state of New Jersey; Haverstraw-Bay, against the township of Courtlandt, and that of Haverstraw, on the opposite side. The third lies between Fishkill and New-Windsor. In the first, the river is computed to be four miles wide; in the second, three; and in the third, cannot be less.

The tide flows to the height of twelve inches at Albany.

This river is chiefly an estuary below Waterford, at the mouth of the Mohawk. Its bed is sometimes raised a little above, and sometimes depressed much below, the bottom of New-York bay, from Paulus' Hook to the city of Hudson; and hither a man of war, of sixty-four guns, may sail from the ocean without finding a single obstruction throughout the whole distance: that is, one hundred and thirty miles above New-York.

The river is deep to Kinderhook, ten miles above; and is navigable thirty miles higher still, to Waterford. Vessels of eighty tons can ascend to Troy, seven miles above Albany; and of nearly or quite the same size to Waterford. About six or eight miles below Albany there is a spot of shoals, called the Overslaugh, which are impassable by vessels of greater burthen.

The Hudson begins to be fresh about sixty miles above New-York.

The waters which flow into it are mere mill-streams. Esopus Creek, the largest of them, is navigable for a little distance, and some of the others furnish small harbours at their mouths; but the whole amount of their supplies to the Hudson is trifling. The waters of this noble river are to a great extent derived from the ocean; and the rest owe the greatness of their mass chiefly to the fact, that in consequence of the lowness of their bed they are stopped, and heaped up by

its refluence. From this mighty advantage the Hudson is the most navigable, and in this respect the most useful river, in proportion to the supplies which it receives from its fountains, perhaps, in the world.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Hudson should have found so fine and safe a bed, in a country so rough, and between banks so often formed of mountains or high hills, and to so great an extent abutting upon it in precipices of a stupendous height. Yet even through the Highlands its navigation is perfectly uninterrupted. The country north of the Highlands, from Fishkill to Waterford, and possibly further still, was, as I believe, and as I have heretofore observed, once a vast lake. The valley of the Hudson is here in some places not far from forty miles in breadth. The mountains on both sides form a complete barrier to the waters of such a lake. On the south the Highlands effectually kept up these waters to a great height, not improbably for a long period after the deluge. These mountains are a continuation of the Blue Ridge; which, entering New-Jersey, cross the breadth of that state; and then, passing through the counties of Orange and Dutchess, unite with the Taghkannuc range at New-Fairfield and Sherman, in Connecticut. The channel to the ocean was probably always where it now is, or not far from its present bed. If its bed was gradually worn out, it must, I think, have been worn by the slow recession of a cataract, originally existing between Anthony's Nose and Bear Hill. Such a cataract would naturally force a deep passage, and may in some measure explain this remarkable phenomenon. I acknowledge this supposition is not without its difficulties. If the channel between Butter Hill and Brecknock, at the entrance of the Hudson into the Highlands, was worn out suddenly, it was probably accomplished in a manner resembling that in which the lake in Glover, elsewhere mentioned in these Letters, forced a passage for its waters two hundred feet in breadth and depth, within the limits of twenty-four hours. The surface of the earth surrounding this lake was hard; but the inferior strata were, to a great depth, light and loose. As soon as the waters reached the uppermost of these strata, it was washed away beneath them almost as easily and as rapidly as they themselves flowed. If we suppose the Hudson a lake at

any given ancient period, the efflux of such an immense mass of waters must go far towards explaining the great depth of its present channel.

There is a grandeur in the passage of this river through the Highlands, unrivalled by any thing of the same nature within my knowledge. At its entrance particularly, and its exit, the mountains ascend with stupendous precipices immediately from the margin of its waters; appearing as if the chasm between them had been produced by the irresistible force of this mighty current, and the intervening barrier at each place had been broken down, and finally carried away into the ocean. These cliffs hang over the river, especially at its exit from the mountains, with a wild and awful sublimity, suited to the grandeur of the river itself; which, speedily after it escapes from these barriers, expands its current to the breadth of three miles, and soon after to that of four; and pours a vast stream, two miles wide, and sufficiently deep to waft a seventy-four gun ship, until it is lost in the bay of New-York.

Above the Highlands, the Kaatskill mountains for a great distance are everywhere visible; and within moderate distances everywhere assume new forms; all of them noble, as seen from the bed and banks of the Hudson. The commerce of this river I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

City of New-York. Its Settlement and Extent. Its Streets, Churches, and other Public Buildings. City Hall. Hospital. State Prison. Bridewell, and City Prison. Old and New Alms-House. Political and Benevolent Societies. Columbia College. College of Physicians and Surgeons. Elgin Botanic Garden. Schools. Literary Societies. Orphan Asylum. Markets. Banks and Insurance Companies. Commerce. Exports and Amount of Duties.

DEAR SIR;

THE city of New-York stands in 40° 42′ north latitude, and in 74° west longitude from Greenwich. It is built on the southern end of the island of Manhattan; or, as it is called in early records, Manhadoes. It was originally a small establishment of some Dutch colonists, for purposes of trade. The celebrated Hudson visited it in the year 1608. In 1615, the states-general of Holland, to whom Hudson sold his own right to the country, sent a small body of men to this spot, who built a fort, and erected a few cottages. In 1629, Wouter Van Twiller was appointed the first governor. In 1663, the Duke of York, to whom the territory had been granted by Charles II, sent an armament, and took possession of both the city and the colony. From that time the name of New-York was given to both. The city was then a trifling village, and thirty-four years afterwards contained only 4,302 inhabitants.

In 1686, both New-York and Albany were incorporated; and the privileges, conveyed in their charters, were substantially those which they at present possess.

The city of New-York extends its powers and privileges over the whole island of Manhattan. This tract is universally

laid out by an act of the government, constituting commissioners for that purpose, into streets, squares, and roads; and the location, which is believed to have been formed with great care and skill, is made perpetual, no person being permitted hereafter to erect any building on any part of the grounds thus sequestered for public use. The commissioners were Simeon De Witt, Esq., surveyor-general of the state, the Honourable Governor Morris, formerly ambassador to the court of Versailles, and John Rutherford, Esq. Of this extensive location, about two miles are filled upon Hudson's river, and perhaps three on the Sound. In a looser sense, buildings are spread over most of the island. A great number of villas are scattered throughout eight or ten miles from the southern point; and with them many houses of an inferior class, belonging to gardeners, farmers, and mechanics, who live in them through the year. The principal collection of these buildings is contained in Haerlaem village and its neighbourhood. Another such collection is Manhattanville, near the Hudson, seven miles from the city. The villas are placed in almost all the pleasant positions on the island, and spread over it a brilliancy and cheerfulness not surpassed in the United States. Many of them have rich gardens, stored with a great variety of delicious fruits.

The streets of New-York have unhappily followed, in many instances, its original designation of a fishing and trading village. The streets are generally wider, and less crooked, than those of Boston, but a great proportion of them are narrow and winding.

Broadway, which commences at the battery, proceeds over the highest ground, between the two rivers, about two miles in a straight line, and is the noblest avenue of this nature in North-America. Towards the north end it is, however, partially built. Greenwich Street begins also at the battery; and, passing between Broadway and the Hudson, extends northward through the whole length of the city. It is spacious and handsome. Straight, handsome streets proceed also from Broadway to the Hudson, from the battery northward about a mile. On the eastern side the streets are much less beautiful.

In the year 1790, Boston contained 2,376 houses, and

18,038 persons: very nearly 7¾ to a house; say 7,6. If we suppose the inhabitants of New-York to be distributed in the same proportion, the number of dwelling-houses in this city may be estimated at 12,680. They are generally new, compared with a great part of those in Boston, and as a body are better buildings*, although very few of them (and none within my observation) are equal in beauty to many of the modern-built houses in that town. The mode of building in New-York is rather heavy; that in Boston has the appearance of lightness and airiness, and strikes the eye with peculiar pleasure.

The public buildings in this city are, beside others, fifty-five churches†. Twelve of these, including the old French Protestant church, are Episcopal; seven belong to the Dutch, seven to the Presbyterians, five to the Scotch Reformed Church, and eight to the Baptists, of which six are considered as regular, and two as irregular. Seven regular churches belong to the Methodists; there are also two or three smaller congregations, calling themselves Methodists, which meet in private rooms, but are not acknowledged. There is one congregation of Blacks among the Baptists, and one among the Methodists. There are also two Friends' meeting-houses, one German Lutheran church, one German Calvinist, one Moravian, one Universalist, one Roman Catholic, one Ditto now building, one Jewish Synagogue‡.

* There is, however, a very great collection of miserable temporary buildings in the heart of this city, north of John Street, between Broadway and the East River. Most of them stand aside from the walks of gentlemen who visit this city, and are rarely taken into an estimate of the value of its buildings. Since I have become acquainted with this fact, I have doubted the correctness of the opinion expressed in the text.

† 1811.

‡ Ten years having elapsed since this account was written, a list of the places of public worship in the city of New-York, taken from the Christian Herald for March, 1821, is subjoined.—*Pub.*

"The whole number of places of public religious worship in the city and county of New-York is 71—as follows, *viz.* Episcopal, 15; Dutch Reformed, 9; Associate Reformed, 5; Presbyterian, 8 (and 2 not yet united to the Presbytery of New-York); Methodist, 9; Baptist, 7; Friends (or Quakers), 3; Independents, 3; Congregational (or Unitarian), 1; Unitas Fratrum (or Moravian), 1; German Lutheran, 1; Universalist, 1; Roman Catholic, 2; Mariners, 1; Mission House, 1; New Jerusalem, 1;

The other public buildings are a city hall, the gaol, the state prison, the bridewell, the alms-house, new alms-house, the hospital, the college, the free school-house, an orphan asylum, the public library, the custom-house, the United States arsenal, the state arsenal, two theatres, the banks, the city hotel, the tontine coffee-house, and the halls, occupied by the Washington, Mechanics, and Tammany societies.

Among the churches, St. John's, in Hudson's Square, is one of the richest, and in the interior one of the most beautiful. Its exterior would strike the eye with much more pleasure, had not the steeple been so disproportioned in its height. The steeple of St. Paul's is probably not excelled by many in the Union, but the church is massive and heavy. The front of the new Presbyterian church in Wall Street is handsome.

The city-hall, although not the most perfect piece of architecture, is the most superb building in the United States*. This elegant structure was begun in 1803, by order of the corporation, and finished at the sole charge of the city in 1812, under the direction of Mr. John M'Comb, architect, at an expense of 520,000 dollars.

The buildiug extends from east to west two hundred and sixteen feet by one hundred and five. The south, east, and west fronts are faced with white marble, brought from Berkshire county, in Massachusetts, enriched with two regular orders of architecture, the Ionic and Corinthian, raised on a rustic basement of brown free-stone, nine feet in height. A neat stone balustrade surrounds the building, and hides a great part of the roof. The centre has an attic story, on which the arms of the city, with appropriate emblems, are intended to be placed, behind which stands a handsome cupola, surmounted by the figure of Justice.

Jews Synagogue, 1. To these it may be added, that the State Prison, Penitentiary, Alms-house, Bridewell, and Debtor's Prison, are all furnished with chapels, in which the Gospel is regularly and faithfully preached.

Of these places of public worship it is believed that five only are vacant. There are sixty-three ministers, who have independent or associate charges, and between eight and twelve residing in the city without parochial charges, most of whom are engaged as professors in Columbia college, or as teachers. This number does not include the local Methodist preachers.

* The Pennsylvania bank is the most perfect American edifice within my knowledge.

The basement floor contains the police office, and large accommodations for the city watch, the marine court, and four other offices; besides a larder, kitchen, and conveniences for the house-keeper.

The principal entrance to the building is on the south front, by a terrace walk, which extends the length of the building, and is in breadth about forty feet. This is raised three feet above the level of the park. From the walk a flight of eleven steps ascends to an Ionic colonade, and from this you pass into a large vestibule, adjoining a corridor, that runs lengthwise of the building, and communicates with the different apartments and staircases.

This floor contains the mayor's office, and all the offices that belong to the city and county, together with a grand jury room, a law library, and apartments for the house-keeper. In the centre of the building, facing the entrance, is a large circular stone staircase, with a double flight of steps, upheld without any apparent support, on the wall which surrounds the stairs. On the level of the second floor stand ten marble columns of the Corinthian order, with a circular gallery around them. The columns are fluted, and the entablature fully enriched; the whole covered by a hemispherical ceiling, enriched with sunk compartments, filled with patera, and lighted by a large sky-light, the whole of which produces a fine effect.

The second floor contains four large court-rooms, two jury-rooms, two offices, a gallery for paintings, and a common council chamber. The gallery is furnished with the portraits of Governors Lewis and Tompkins, and with those of all the mayors of the city, since the revolution. The common council chamber is finished in a superb style. It contains the full-length portraits of General Washington, General Hamilton, Governor Jay, and Governor Clinton. The carvings in stone and wood are well executed.

The Hospital is an establishment honourable both to the city and the state. It is under the management of twenty-six governors, who meet on the first Tuesday of every month, and whose services are gratuitous.

Applicants for admission must bring a recommendation from a governor, physician, or surgeon of the hospital; or, if citizens of the state, and not residents in the city, from a justice of the

peace, and one or more overseers in the town or city where they reside. A visiting committee, consisting of three governors, determines concerning the continuance of the patients in the hospital, and has the general care of the institution.

The officers are a president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary; six physicians, four surgeons, a superintendent, who is also the steward; a house physician, who is also the librarian; a house surgeon, an apothecary, and a clerk.

An asylum for lunatics is annexed to this institution.

A ward also is appropriated for the reception of lying-in women.

Since the year 1799, sick and disabled seamen, at the port of New-York, are received into the Hospital, and enjoy all its advantages. From the year 1804, the collector of the port has refused to pay for more than seventy-five seamen at a time. From motives of humanity, and a general regard to this useful class of men, the governors have, nevertheless, during five years, beginning with 1806, admitted eight hundred and forty-three seamen beyond the number paid for by the collector, or, in other words, by the national government, and have thus incurred an expense of 9,500 dollars, a fact honourable to the governors of the hospital, but far otherwise to those of the nation.

The whole number of patients admitted into this inst[redacted] from 1792 to 1810 inclusive, was 13,863. Of these [redacted] have been cured, 886 relieved, 646 discharged at the request of friends, 458 dismissed as disorderly, 187 sent to the alms-house, 517 eloped, and 1,676 have died. When it is reme[redacted] bered, that but few apply until their diseases are far advance[redacted] and that many are brought in a hopeless condition, th[redacted] account will, it is believed, be thought very favourable to the character of the institution.

From the year 1797 to 1810 inclusive, the number of patients was 13,035. Of these, 77 were natives of Asia; 134 of Africa; 6,036 of Europe; and 6,788 of America. Of the Europeans, 1,129 were Englishmen; 427 Scotchmen; 3,164 Irishmen. Often the native place was unknown.

The number of lunatics admitted into the asylum in five years was 362, of whom 150 were cured.

The library belonging to this institution is valuable. The

ground on which it is established is elevated, pleasant, airy, and healthy. The principal building is of grey stone, in the simplest Doric style, one hundred and twenty-four feet in length, fifty in breadth at the centre, and eighty-six at the wings, and is of three stories and a basement. The latter contains the kitchens, laundry, bathing-room, &c., together with two wards, destined for the temporary accommodations of patients, whom it is necessary to remove from intercourse with others. The stories contain all the rooms necessary to accommodate such an institution, and those employed in the management of its affairs, together with sixteen wards for the reception of about three hundred patients. Among its conveniences are an excellent garden, fruit trees, walks, a large ice-house, bathing-house, and stables.

The asylum is also of stone, ninety feet in length, forty feet wide in the centre, and sixty-five in the wings. This building is well constructed for the comfort and safety of the patients and those employed in the management, is well warmed, and is made perfectly secure from fire.

In Greenwich Street, about two miles from the southern point of the city, stands the State Prison. This structure is of free stone, and of the Doric order, two hundred and four feet in length, with wings and buildings connected with them, and two hundred feet in depth. It contains fifty-four rooms for prisoners, twelve feet by eighteen; a large room for public worship, and apartments for the use of the keeper; beside fourteen solitary cells, six feet by eight, and fourteen in height. The stories are fifteen feet in height. In the rear of the building is a manufactory, containing workshops for the prisoners, two hundred feet in length, and twenty in breadth, of two stories. The whole ground connected with these buildings, consisting of four acres, is enclosed by a wall of stone, of mason work, fourteen feet high, on Greenwich Street, and twenty-three towards the river. The expense of purchase and erection was 208,846 dollars.

Murder and treason are now the only crimes which are made capital by the laws of this state. Felonies of all other descriptions, together with most other subordinate offences, are punished by confinement in this prison; felonies, by imprisonment for life!

The government of the State Prison is committed to seven inspectors, who appoint their own clerk, and an indefinite number of keepers. The convicts are dressed in uniform, and are comfortably fed and clothed, and the sexes are kept separate. They are employed in various kinds of mechanical and manufacturing business. The inspectors perform their services gratuitously.

The building, commonly known by the name of the Bridewell, is occupied in its middle apartments by the keeper and his family. The east wing, or end, is called the Bridewell, and the west end, the City Prison. The latter is divided into ten small rooms, two large ones, and a common hall, and is appropriated to those who are committed, to await their trial; or who have been tried and sentenced to imprisonment without labour.

The two large rooms are the abodes of vagrants chiefly, who do the menial duties required by the whole establishment. The prisoners in the city prison mix promiscuously in the daytime, but are ordered to their respective rooms at sun-set. The former (the Bridewell) is divided into four large rooms, two on a floor, and is the receptacle of all who are confined by sentence to hard labour. The crimes for which Bridewell furnishes the punishment are various sorts of misdemeanors such as libel, assault and battery, keeping disorderly house obtaining goods by false pretences, &c. &c. &c., and all felonies less than grand larceny, which is the title of the theft when the goods stolen exceed 12 dollars 50 cents in value. The term of imprisonment in Bridewell for any one offence is not to exceed three years. Imprisonment may, at the discretion of the court, be substituted in all cases, in which they are authorised to inflict corporeal chastisement for that punishment.

A whipping-post was erected a few years since in the Bridewell yard, but the infliction of the punishment was found to be so revolting to the feelings of the community, that the post has been removed. The employment of the prisoners in Bridewell is the picking of oakum. The tasks are given out to the rooms before sun-rise, and the punishment for idleness, or refractoriness, is diminishing the allowance of food. The food consists of beef, potatoes, soup, bread, and mush and

molasses, which is distributed in the rooms of both sections of the building, in quantities deemed sufficient for all. The whites are divided from the blacks, who usually constitute a moiety; and the males from the females, the latter being numerically proportioned to the former in a ratio not less than three to two. Those who labour in Bridewell are confined to their respective rooms. The corporation of the city may, however, direct the convicts to be employed on the public works. They are frequently seen chained to wheel-barrows, and occupied in repairing the public roads between New-York and Haerlem. The vagrants mentioned as performing the menial offices are usually street beggars, and idle persons who cannot give a good account of themselves. The average number of prisoners is about one hundred and fifty. The expenses of the prison are defrayed at the alms-house, as hereafter mentioned.

The accompanying printed report* of the superintendant of

* The substance of the report mentioned in the text is the following:—

Paupers admitted into the house from the 1st of April, 1812, to the 1st of April, 1813, amounted to		2,814
Discharged,	1,316	
Died	233	
Total discharged and died		1,549
Remaining in the house April 1st, 1813		1,265
Their sexes and places of birth are as follows:—		
Men		252
Women		468
Boys		299
Girls		246
Total		1,265
Of these there were born in the city of New-York		624
State of New-York		78
United States		129
England		82
Scotland		37
Ireland		246
Germany		43
France		9
Africa		9
West Indies		8
Total		1,265

the alms-house will give a general idea of the character of that institution. It embraces the period from the 1st of April, 1812, to the 1st of April, 1813. The report for the succeeding year corresponds in its general aspect with the one enclosed. The donations to the out-door poor, as by the last mentioned report, amounted to 34,133 dollars 85 cents; the whole expense for the same year, to about 92,000 dollars; the charges for the Bridewell and City Asylum included.

The old alms-house can accommodate about one thousand two hundred persons. One or more discreet persons are usually associated with the commissioners' superintendant, and by their appointment are to examine into the character and condition of the applicants. Those who can get along with some aid short of an entire subsistence are left at home, and called out-door poor. Those who have very little or no reliance, but on the public bounty, are transferred to the buildings, where the men who can labour are employed in such handicraft business as they may be acquainted with, and in gardening, sawing wood, and picking oakum; and the women in spinning sewing, knitting, washing, &c.

Number of prisoners and vagrants in the city prison and Bride[illegible] April 1st, 1813:—		
Men	6[illegible]	
Women	6[illegible]	
Total		128
Number of maniacs in the city asylum, paid for by the superintendant of the alms-house, April 1st, 1813:—		
Men	23	
Women	22	
Total		45
Number of families of out-door poor, to whom donations were distributed from April 1st, 1812, to April 1st, 1813		1,973
Number of persons of which they consisted		8,253
	dollars.	cents.
Amount of donations to these families	11,711	35
Cash paid for the support of Indians, and to sundry towns for the support of paupers belonging to the city of New-York	297	89
Cash paid for transporting paupers	604	62
Total	12,613	86

A physician, at a salary of 800 dollars, attends the alms-house and Bridewell, and has for his assistants two medical students, who visit in the alms-house, and have their board at the superintendant's table as a compensation.

There are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred infants at nurse, at the expense of the alms-house, coming under the descriptions of pauper children, natural born, and foundlings.

The whole charge of these two establishments is devolved on the superintendant of the alms-house, and five commissioners appointed by the corporation. These officers also form the medium through which the expenses of the city (or lunatic) asylum are defrayed.

The commissioners have also the power of binding out to trades all poor children, and exercise from time to time judicial authority in cancelling indentures of apprenticeship.

The new buildings constructing on the bank of the east river, three miles from the city, and now nearly completed, will supersede the use of those which are at present occupied. The entire cost of the pile, it is estimated, will exceed 400,000 dollars; more than 300,000 dollars having been already expended.

On an area, measuring four hundred and sixty-five feet by four hundred and fifty-five, enclosed on three sides by a wall eleven feet high, and opening on the fourth side to East River, are erected, first, the alms-house, of stone, fronting the river, three hundred and twenty feet long, by fifty-seven feet deep, with two wings, each one hundred and fifty feet deep. 2dly, Two hospitals of brick; one in the rear of each wing, and on the same line, seventy-five feet long. 3dly, In the rear of the centre of the alms-house, and between the hospitals, a work-shop of brick, two hundred feet in length. 4thly, In the rear of the workshop, a penitentiary of stone, one hundred and fifty feet long. Twenty-five hundred persons, it is presumed, might find accommodations in the new alms-house; two hundred have already been transferred thither.

I have been the more minute in this detail, because it is the only institution of a similar nature, which is particularly described in these Letters. With the system pursued in Boston I am unacquainted. In the smaller towns, which I have

mentioned, such institutions exist on so limited a scale, that they can hardly be expected to engage your attention.

The new Alms-house, mentioned above, is formed upon a scale which approaches to magnificence. Of European institutions of the same nature I am ignorant. But there is no eleemosynary establishment in the American Union equally splendid. Indeed, both the corporation and the inhabitants of New-York discover a high degree of good sense, and a very expansive liberality, in the measures which they pursue for the improvement of their city, in every thing, whether useful or ornamental. Probably they proceed as fast in this honourable career as their circumstances will permit.

There is in this city a great number of societies, formed professedly for benevolent purposes. Among these is the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order; professedly established to afford relief to persons in distress. Its principal business is, however, believed to be that of influencing elections.

The Washington Benevolent Society, though really employed in many benevolent purposes, is substantially a political association.

The Humane Society was formed for the relief of poor debtors, principally by supplying them with food and fu

The German Society was established for the purp aiding poor German emigrants, and others in distress Andrew's, St. George's, and St. Patrick's Societies are professedly benevolent also. They are believed to be occasionally very good friends to the market, and to carry on their hostilities against no beings which have not already been slain.

The New-England Society is probably employed in much the same manner.

All these associations are formed of natives of their respective countries, or their descendants.

The Marine Society was formed for the purpose of increasing the knowledge of nautical objects and operations, and of relieving distressed masters of vessels, their wives and orphans.

The Provident Society was formed for the purpose of relieving their own suffering members, their widows and orphans.

For the same purposes were established the Mutual Benefit, Benevolent, and Albion, Benevolent Societies.

The Ladies' Society, for the relief of poor Widows with small children, was formed in 1797, and has pursued its design on wise principles, with much activity, and with great effect. In their efforts they combine the diffusion of well-directed charity with an energetic encouragement of industry and morals.

The Dispensary is an excellent institution, intended to provide relief for such indigent sick persons, in their own dwellings, as are unable to procure it for themselves, and are yet not proper objects for admittance into the Alms-house or the Hospital. Probably no institution has done more good, with means of the same extent.

The Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen is, also, a charitable institution for the benefit of its members.

On Staten Island there is a Marine Hospital, under the care of the health officer of this city. The buildings were erected by the state, and the whole institution is under its control. It is reported to be under good regulations.

The Sailor's Snug Harbour is a benevolent institution, which well deserves to be particularly mentioned. In the year 1801, Captain Robert Richard Randall gave, by devise, the principal part of his estate to trustees, for the purpose of establishing an asylum for the maintenance and support of aged, decrepid, and worn-out sailors. The estate was valued at 50,000 dollars; and the devise is to be put into operation, whenever the trustees shall judge the interest sufficient for the maintenance of fifty sailors.

The trustees are the mayor and recorder of the city, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the president and vice-president of the Marine Society, and the senior ministers of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Societies for the time being. They are incorporated; and the design is in a fair way to be carried into prosperous execution.

A society was formed some years since for the purpose of diffusing extensively the Vaccine Inoculation. After the business was completely established, and the prejudices against it were overcome, it was placed under the care of the City Dispensary

At the head of the literary institutions in New-York is Columbia College. The building in which it is established stands on a tract, given to it originally, by the rector of the Episcopal congregation in this city, and the inhabitants in communion with the church of England, or what is now called the corporation of Trinity Church; the richest ecclesiastical body, it is believed, in the United States. The ground on which the college is built is bounded upon Church, Barclay, and Murray Streets. The building itself presents to the eye nothing which is either beautiful or magnificent.

The original style of the trustees was "The Governors of the College of the Province of New-York, in the city of New-York, in America." Its name was King's College. Originally it was intended to furnish only the education generally given in seminaries of this class. Since 1783, a medical institution has been annexed to it, which, at first, was under the direction of five professors; one of anatomy and surgery; one of midwifery and clinical medicine, one of botany and materia medica, one of the theory and practice of physic, and one of chemistry.

In the year 1807, the regents of the university of New-York, to whom, exclusively, is committed the superintendence of learning and science in this state, and the power of instituting such seminaries as they think proper, established a college of physicians and surgeons in the city of New-York, and granted a charter for this purpose on the 12th of March.

A third institution of the same general nature has been also formed in this city, if I mistake not, by a collection of medical gentlemen voluntarily associated. The two former of these have been lately united.

Under the care of the trustees of the college of physicians and surgeons is placed, by legislative authority, a botanic garden, in the interior of the island, called the Elgin Botanic Garden. This establishment owes its existence to Dr. David Hosack, professor of botany and materia medica in the college. It was begun in 1801. In 1806 it contained about 2,000 plants; partly native, and partly exotic. In 1810, the legislature passed an act, directing, that the establishment should be purchased for the state at an appraisement; and it was accordingly purchased for 74,268 dollars 75 cents; ex-

clusive of plants, trees, shrubs, &c., estimated at 12,000 dollars more.

The Academical Faculty, or, as it is here styled, the Faculty of the Arts, consists of a president, a provost, and four professors; one of moral philosophy, one of classical literature, one of mathematics and natural philosophy, and one of logic, rhetoric, and belles-lettres.

Of the number of students in this seminary I am ignorant. A tolerable estimate may, however, be formed, by recurring to the catalogue of graduates. The four classes who received the degree of A. B. in 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, amounted to 74. All the students live at their respective lodgings in the city.

The whole number of those who have taken the degree of A. B. in this college, to the year 1776 inclusive, was 110. For ten years the course of education was interrupted by the revolutionary war, and its consequences. From the year 1786, when its operations commenced again under the name of Columbia College, to the year 1814 inclusive, the whole number was 502. Total 612.

There are no tutors in this seminary.

Columbia College is well endowed.

Of the schools it is impossible for me to give any satisfactory account. No system of school education has ever been adopted by the inhabitants, nor any thing which resembles a system; except that there are several charity schools, belonging to the Episcopal, Dutch, and Presbyterian congregations, and a school on the Lancasterian plan, under the patronage, as I believe, of the city corporation, and containing, at different times, from five to seven hundred scholars. In other cases, schools are generally established in this manner:—An individual, sometimes a liberally-educated student, having obtained the proper recommendations, offers himself to some of the inhabitants as a schoolmaster. If he is approved, and procures a competent number of subscribers, he hires a room, and commences the business of instruction. Sometimes he meets with little, and sometimes with much encouragement. I am acquainted with no spot in the United States, where a schoolmaster of reputation will find his business more profitable, unless perhaps at Charleston, South-Carolina.

There is in this city a society, entitled an Academy of Arts. With the state of its operations I am unacquainted, except that it has purchased, and has in its possession, imitations of several fine specimens of ancient sculpture, and some other rarities of a similar nature.

There is here also an Historical Society; the peculiar object of which is to obtain, preserve, and publish, whatever may throw light upon the history of this state.

This society was formed December 10th, 1804, and incorporated February 10th, 1809. They have already published two volumes of collections, which have been deservedly well received. Some years since, a society was established in this city, under the title of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The design and extent of its future proceedings have been announced to the public, in a very able and interesting introductory discourse by the Honourable De Witt Clinton, the president.

There is, also, a Library Society in this city, whose legal style is, "The Trustees of the New-York Society's Library." The library consists of more than ten thousand volumes, and is continually increasing.

There is another institution in this city, in the highest degree honourable to the ladies by whom it was originated. Its style is "The Orphan Asylum Society." It was organized March, 1806, and was incorporated April 7th, 1807. The building, which was erected in 1807, is of brick, fifty feet square, and is capable of containing two hundred children.

The plan pursued is, to bind the girls as servants, from the time they can read and write until they are eighteen, and the boys until they are fifteen; at which time they are bound as apprentices to mechanics.

In addition to the ground purchased for the building, they have secured a tract for gardens.

The orphans are under the immediate care of a superintendant and his wife. Peculiar attention is paid to the religious education of these helpless beings; and this is everywhere mentioned as a primary end of the institution.

The heavy expense incurred by purchasing a building, the support of the orphans, and the salary of the superintendant, has been all defrayed to April, 1814, by charitable contribu-

tions and donations; except that the state has given them 500 dollars annually, to be paid out of the duties on sales at auction. With this aid, they have not only supported their charge, but advanced far towards cancelling their debts. All this has been done also, while the inhabitants have been embarrassed in their business by the restrictive system, and by the war which followed it; while the expense of subsisting themselves and their families was exceedingly enhanced, the calls for charity increased from every other quarter, and their own income either greatly diminished or annihilated.

There are not far from an hundred children, all of them fatherless and motherless, maintained and instructed in this asylum.

The most perfect harmony appears to prevail in the society; and, to April, 1814, with which my accounts close, the board of direction had been uniformly re-elected. May the Lord God be with them, and make their way prosperous!

The manufactures of New-York probably exceed, in number and quantity, those of any other city in the United States, except Philadelphia. I have no list of their kinds, nor any estimate of their amount. They consist, however, of all or nearly all the various articles, usually made in commercial cities.

The principal markets in New-York are Fly market, extending from Pearl Street to the East river, and Bear market, in Washington Street, on the Hudson. There are six or seven smaller ones in other parts of the city. They are all under the control of the mayor, and are very well regulated. The supplies are abundant of flesh and fish, of fruits and vegetables. Great quantities of the fine beef of New-England are sold here. The mutton is inferior to that of the countries further north. The best in the United States is furnished by Vermont, New-Hampshire, and the district of Maine. The poultry and fish are excellent, and the vegetables very abundant. The fruit is of a fine quality, and plentifully supplied. In ordinary seasons, West-Indian fruits abound scarcely less than those of the country. In truth, all the demands of the most fastidious palate may here be easily satisfied.

The advantages of a commercial nature, possessed by New-York, are unrivalled on this side of the Atlantic. Eastward, the Sound opens to it 200 miles of the New-England shore,

and 140 of that of Long-Island. Northward, the Hudson yields it a navigation of 170 miles. The Mohawk, with an interruption of fifteen miles land carriage, extends a water conveyance to Lake Ontario, and to the Cayuga and Seneca lakes. With New-Jersey an advantageous intercourse is carried on, partly by the Hudson and partly by the Hackensac, Passaic, and Raritan rivers.

The harbour is formed by the East river and the Hudson, and is capable of containing the greatest number of ships which will ever be assembled in one place, with sufficient depth of water and good anchorage. In the year 1780, and in a few other instances since the settlement of the colony, these waters were frozen; but in all ordinary winters are open. The ice, however, floats, in severe weather, in such a degree as to be inconvenient.

The commercial institutions established in this city correspond in their magnitude with the extent of its trade.

There are eight Banks*:—

	Capital.
1. Bank of New-York . . . . Dollars,	950,000
2. Manhattan Bank	2,000,000
3. Merchants' Bank	1,250,000
4. Mechanics' Bank	2,000,000
5. Union Bank	1,800,000
6. Bank of America	4,000,000
7. City Bank	2,000,000
8. New-York Manufacturing Company	1,200,000

There are eight Insurance Companies:—

1. United	500,000
2. New-York	500,000
3. Mutual	500,000
4. Washington Mutual	500,000
5. Ocean	500,000
6. New-York Fire	500,000
7. Eagle Fire	500,000
8. Globe	1,000,000

There is in this city a Chamber of Commerce, which was formed April 5th, 1768, and incorporated 1770. This asso-

* Since this was written, the Franklin Bank, the North River Bank, and a branch of the United States Bank have been established—*Pub.*

ciation is enabled to hold property to the amount of £3,000 sterling per annum. This body regulates merchants' commissions, adjusts mercantile disputes among the members, regulates the amount of damages on the non-payment of exchange, &c. &c.

There are between three and four hundred vessels, estimated on an average at forty tons each, employed continually on Hudson's river throughout the mild season. The quantity of property floating on this stream exceeds, beyond comparison, that which moves on any other river in the eastern section of the United States.

New-York is fast becoming, and to a great extent has already become, the market-town for the whole American coast, from St. Mary's to Cape Cod.

The foreign commerce of this city is carried on with every part of the world to which its ships can find access, and is universally acknowledged to be fair and honourable.

I do not intend that there are not here, as well as elsewhere, fraudulent men, base commercial transactions, and dishonest bankruptcies. I mean, that the general scheme of commerce adopted here, and actually pursued by a great part of the merchants, is fair and upright; that their customers have ordinarily no reason to complain, and much reason to be satisfied; and that the country merchants from every part of the Union come to New-York with full confidence that they shall be safe.

The following tables will exhibit the extent and importance of the commerce of this state.

Abstract of Exports from the State of New-York during Ten Years, almost all of them from the City.

Years.	Dollars,
1801	19,851,136
1802	13,792,276
1803	10,818,387
1804	16,081,281
1805	23,482,943
1806	21,762,845
1807	26,357,963
1808	5,606,058
1809	12,581,562
1810	17,242,330

Abstract of the Duties collected in the City of New-York during the same period.

Years.		Duties.
1801	Dollars,	4,978,490
1802		3,522,589
1803		4,074,645
1804		5,162,231
1805		6,944,455
1806		7,293,466
1807		7,613,700
1808		3,605,372
1809		3,773,855
1810		5,232,707

Abstract of Duties collected in the rest of this State; *viz.* at Sag-Harbour, City of Hudson, Lake Champlain, Genessee, Sacket's-Harbour, Oswego, Niagara, and Buffaloe Creek.

Years.		Duties.
1801	Dollars,	5,744
1802		7,708
1803		6,931
1804		10,473
1805		13,562
1806		13,723
1807		7,292
1808		6,312
1809		11,805
1810		15,911

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Origin of the Inhabitants of New-York. Their Industry. Rapid Increase of the City. Economy of the Citizens. Their Hospitality. Respect for Religion. Intelligence. Language. Amusements. Religious Character. Police. Receipts, and Expenditures of the Treasury. Water. Ferry-Boats. Appearance of the City and the adjacent Country. Distinguished Men.

DEAR SIR;

THE inhabitants of this city are composed of the following classes, arranged according to their supposed numbers:—

1. Immigrants from New-England.
2. The original inhabitants, partly Dutch, partly English.
3. Immigrants from other parts of this state; a considerable proportion of them from Long-Island.
4. Immigrants from Ireland.
5. Immigrants from New-Jersey.
6. Immigrants from Scotland.
7. Immigrants from Germany.
8. Immigrants from England.
9. Immigrants from France.
10. Immigrants from Holland.
11. Jews.

To these are to be added a few Swedes, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, and West Indians.

The children, born of immigrants, are numerous.

Among so many sorts of persons, you will easily believe it must be difficult, if not impossible, to find a common character; since the various immigrants themselves, and to some extent their children, will retain the features derived from their origin and their education.

In an account of the character of the citizens of New-York, these varieties are of course to be included; and wherever, to avoid prolixity and repetition, they are not specified, are still to be carried along in your own mind as being always intended.

The first trait, which I shall take notice of in the character of these citizens, is their industry. This characteristic spreads through all classes, and is everywhere visible. The bustle in the streets; the perpetual activity of the carts; the noise and hurry at the docks, which on three sides encircle the city; the sound of saws, axes, and hammers at the ship-yards; the continually repeated views of the numerous buildings, rising in almost every part of it, and the multitude of workmen employed upon them, form as lively a specimen of "the busy hum of populous cities," as can be imagined. A fine variety is added to this display of energy, by the vast number of vessels and boats continually plying in the bay and the rivers. Almost all the marketable articles of New-York are brought to it by water, and nearly the whole of its imports are conveyed into the different parts of the country in the same manner. The coasting vessels of the Hudson, New-England, and New-Jersey, appear to the eye to be numberless. So long ago as 1793, six hundred and eighty-three vessels entered this port from abroad, and one thousand three hundred and eighty-one coastwise; in 1794, seven hundred and ninety-one foreign, and one thousand five hundred and twenty-three coasting vessels; in 1795, nine hundred and forty-one foreign. Independently of the restrictions upon commerce adopted by the national government, the number of both has been continually increasing, and in all probability will continue to increase through centuries to come.

Hardly any sight is more rare or more beautiful than the steam-boats, which move on the waters connected with New-York; and which began their first operation, deserving of any notice, at this place.

Another object, delightful to the lover of fine scenery, and to the patriot also, is the rapid increase of the number and beauty of the buildings, both public and private. The gayest landscape is less cheerful than this interesting display of prosperous energy. In the year 1784, the number of inhabitants

was 18,400; in 1810, 96,000 *, more than five times the first number in twenty-six years. It is hardly necessary to add, that the business and buildings have been increased in a still greater proportion. In consequence of this fact, New-York almost everywhere wears the vivid appearance of an entirely new city. Indeed, a great part of what was old has been either pulled or burnt down; and, wherever this has been the case, has been rebuilt in a handsomer manner.

The economy of the inhabitants is I think less remarkable, and less universal, than their industry. A magnificent and expensive style of living is adopted by many of the citizens, which in a considerable number of instances has plainly outrun the convenience, and sometimes the property, of those by whom it has been practised. Still by far the greater number are economical, and continually increasing their property. Where wealth is accumulated so rapidly, as for a considerable period it was in New-York, it is rather to be considered as extraordinary that so much frugality should prevail, and so many temptations to luxury be resisted, than that the actual expensiveness of living should have grown up in so flattering circumstances.

The furniture and carriages of many of the inhabitants are rich and beautiful. A great number of good horses are continually seen here, bred chiefly on Long-Island, in New-Jersey, and in the counties of Dutchess and West-Chester. Until lately, almost all the coaches were private property. Hackney coaches are now employed in considerable numbers, and riding is a favourite amusement of the citizens.

New-York is distinguished for its hospitality. Its original inhabitants imperfectly merited this character. Tables are spread here with a luxury which must, I think, satisfy the demands of any epicure.

A great part of the citizens merit the character of sobriety, and the number is not small of those who on the best grounds have believed to be religious. Many of the churches are regularly filled when the weather is tolerably pleasant, and the number

* By an official return of the census of New-York, taken by order of the corporation of the city in 1819, the whole number of the inhabitants was 119,657.—*Pub.*

of those who frequent them has been increasing for a series of years. The clergy are highly esteemed, and treated with great respect. Every thing of a religious nature is regarded with becoming reverence by a great proportion of the citizens, and few, even of the licentious, think it proper to behave disrespectfully towards persons or things to which a religious character is attached. The sale of religious books is probably the most profitable branch of business to booksellers. These, however, are to a vast extent conveyed into the country, not only in this state, but in New-Jersey also, and particularly in New-England.

In every large city there will always be found a considerable number of persons, who possess superior talents and information; and who, if not natives, are drawn to it by the peculiar encouragement which it holds out to their exertions. The field of effort is here more splendid, and the talents are more needed, honoured, and rewarded than in smaller towns. New-York has its share of persons sustaining this character; men, really possessing superior minds, and deserving high esteem. Together with these, there is not a small number here, as elsewhere, who arrogate this character to themselves, and some of whom occasionally acquire and lose it; men, accounted great through the favourable influence of some accident, the attachment of some religious or political party during a fortunate breeze of popularity, or the lucky prevalence of some incidental sympathy, or the ardent pursuit of some favourite public object in which they happened to act with success. These meteors, though some of them shine for a period with considerable lustre, soon pass over the horizon and are seen no more.

The citizens at large are distinguished, as to their intelligence, in the manner alluded to above. To this place they have come with the advantages and disadvantages of education found in their several native countries. Some of them are well informed, read, converse, and investigate. Others scarcely do either; and not a small number are unable to read at all. Most of these are, however, Europeans.

The language spoken in this city is very various. When passing through the streets, you will hear English, French, Dutch, and German, and all the various brogues spoken by

the numerous nations mentioned above, when imperfectly acquainted, as most of them are, with the English tongue. Those, who are of English descent, speak the language with as much propriety as any other inhabitants of the Union. The well-educated descendants of the Dutch speak it substantially in the same manner.

The general attachment to learning is less vigorous in this city than in Boston: commerce having originally taken a more entire possession of the minds of its inhabitants. The character of New-York, however, has for some time been materially changing in this respect, and is still changing. A great number of the citizens give their sons a liberal education: and the interests of the Columbia college have become more an object of the public regard. Still there is not a little of that frivolous education, which I formerly mentioned, in fashion here, as well as in other places. Wealth also, in a much higher degree than good sense can justify, is considered as conferring importance and distinction on its owner. This prepossession is a blast upon all improvement of the mind, for it persuades every one in whom it exists, that such improvement is insignificant and useless.

The amusements in New-York are the same as in other cities, and occupy as much time, attention, and expense, as would ordinarily be pleaded for by the veriest votary of pleasure, and more than can be admitted by religion or common sense. Theatrical entertainments, assemblies, balls, concerts, &c., are extensively objects of attachment. Visiting watering places, riding, sailing, shopping, and frequenting various spectacles, intended to kill time, and to enable the authors to live in idleness, are favourite pursuits. Travelling, also, is a considerable object of attention to the more intelligent part of the inhabitants, during the mild season. A number of the citizens are annually seen upon the race grounds, near Haerlem, and on Hempstead plain. Such of them as are, or wish to be sportsmen, hunt grouse and deer upon Long-Island, and catch trout in its waters. Since the establishment of steam-boats, excursions by water up the Hudson, into New-Jersey, and into New-England, have become favourite amusements.

There is no place, more frequently selected by foreigners as

an agreeable residence than New-York. Indeed, there is none where the natives of the several European countries can, at such a distance, so generally enjoy the satisfaction, derived from intercourse with their own countrymen.

In addition to this account, I am not a little gratified in being able to add, that real religion was, perhaps, never more prevalent in New-York than within a few years past. In proportion to its size, it is not improbably a more religious city than any other in the world.

The police of New-York is in the hands of a common council, consisting of the mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and ten assistants; one alderman and one assistant being chosen by each of the ten wards, into which it is divided. You will easily believe, that the police of every city must be efficacious or not, according to the personal character of those with whom the power is lodged. Still it is true, that every government becomes insensibly energetic or imbecile by the progress of years; and by the influence of that series of events, numberless and nameless, which a considerable course of time regularly rolls on. From this source New-York has derived not a little advantage, and still more from the character of the gentlemen, who have successively held the mayoralty since the revolution. The ancient government of the city, while it was the metropolis of a province, was energetic and exact; and the original inhabitants, as well those, who returned after the revolutionary war, as those, who during its continuance resided here, were so habituated to such a government, that most of them, particularly men of extensive influence, were unwilling to see any other substituted in its place. The first mayor after the revolution vigorously followed the steps of his predecessors, and had sufficient weight of character to make any resistance to his measures hopeless. His successors, generally influenced by similar views, and possessing a similar character, have had the wisdom to pursue the same course. In this they have been firmly supported by the distinguished citizens, and with so much uniformity, that the system may now be considered as placed beyond the danger of any speedy alteration.

With these advantages the police of New-York has become, I suspect, superior to that of any other city in the American

Union. The order maintained here is in a sense absolute. Law reigns with an entire control; and resistance to it is unthought of. This, I acknowledge, is equally true of Boston: but Boston has scarcely more than a third of the population of New-York, and this population is chiefly native; while that of New-York is, to the amount of two-thirds, derived from different parts of the United States and from Europe. It is unnecessary for me to inform you, that a population, gathered from many different countries, with so many different principles, religious and political, with such a diversity of manners, habits, and even language; without attachments to each other, to the place, to the government, or in many instances to the country; must be governed, if governed at all, with much more difficulty than a community of equal size, where all these things are inverted. The late Parisian mob at Baltimore, where one would believe the spirit of Marat, let loose from the regions below, had come back to this world, to feast again on discord, and carnage, awakened to a considerable extent a sympathetic pulse in the abandoned and profligate part of the American population. The measures, pursued by the police of this city, may be considered as having contributed largely to the preservation of these states from scenes of suffering, which it would be difficult to describe or imagine. In Boston, the citizens at large, in a manner highly honourable to themselves, assumed the same determined attitude; and let me add, the same respectable character, and measures substantially of the same efficacious nature, are deservedly to be attributed to the citizens of Philadelphia.

The following report of the treasurer for the year ending December 31st, 1812, will, I presume, give you a respectful opinion of the importance of one American city.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW-YORK.

Account of cash received and paid, from 31st December, 1811, to 31st December, 1812.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Paid for alms-house	73,488	88
Watch	57,521	78
Carried forward,	131,010	66

	Dollars.	Cents.
Brought forward,	131,010	66
Lamps	27,526	78
County contingencies	40,346	73
City contingencies	9,161	70
Wells and pumps	3,574	82
Roads	4,776	85
Commissioners of streets and roads	10,213	0
Canal Street	84,251	19
Common lands	24,948	39
Docks and slips	17,074	81
Sundry bonds	360,265	40
Interest on bonds	15,957	11
Interest on city stock	12,000	0
Collect	599	51
New city hall	90,287	99
New alms-house	80,900	0
Signal poles	103	61
Police office	867	71
Streets	12,355	48
Repairs	13,350	73
Board of health	1,700	0
Committee of defence	5,976	16
Washington market	5,000	0
Markets	687	91
Balance in the treasury, 31st December, 1812	58,724	34
	1,012,460	38

1811, December 31.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Balance in the treasury	2,518	92
1812, Received for ground and house rents	13,122	53
Water lot	9,171	14
Common lands, sales and rent	41,383	68
Ferry rent	8,650	13
Tavern licences	6,025	0
Carried forward,	80,871	40

	Dollars.	Cents.
Brought forward,	80,871	40
Market fees	6,637	80
Mayoralty fees.	729	50
Docks and slips, rent	21,937	50
Manhattan stock.	940	0
Balance of stock of 1811	150,566	5
Excise.	9,089	46
Vendue sales	36,699	12
Street manure.	4,969	55
City stock subscription	700,000	0
	1,012,460	38

This report will exhibit to you in a single point of view the financial concerns of this city, both as to their nature and magnitude, the objects which are pursued, and the manner and the extent in which they are pursued. It is hardly necessary to observe, that these objects all wear on their face the stamp of utility; and from the scale, by which they are here estimated, present in a strong light both the wealth and the liberality of the citizens.

There is one subject, which exhibits both their wisdom and their liberality with less advantage. The water is generally very bad. Much has been said concerning the subject, and various plans have been proposed for remedying the evil. The Manhattan company was formed for this purpose, and the object of their incorporation, as expressed in the act, was "to supply the city with pure and wholesome water." They were empowered to raise a capital of 2,000,000 dollars in 40,000 shares, of which the corporation of the city was allowed to hold 2,000. When this object should be provided for, the company was authorized to employ their remaining capital in any pecuniary transactions, consistent with the laws of the state, and of the United States. Accordingly the company dug one or more wells, and conveyed water through a considerable part of the city in pipes. These have sometimes been in good order, and effectual operation; and at others have in various instances absolutely failed, at least for long intervals. The water actually conveyed was of an indifferent quality, the supply precarious, and the city not so well furnished as

before, when it was carried round in casks to every house. The capital was then employed in the banking business, which has been prosecuted by the company ever since.

It has often been said and believed, that the waters of the river Bronx are sufficiently elevated to admit of being conveyed into New-York. Whether this opinion is just, I am unable to determine. If it should prove so, there cannot be a doubt, that it would yield a more copious supply, of a much better quality.

This attempt, however, will probably prevent the citizens from obtaining good water, in sufficient quantities, for many years.

The ferries over both the Hudson and the East river have heretofore been serious inconveniences to this city. The adoption of steam boats instead of the ordinary ferry boats, formerly employed, has chiefly removed this inconvenience; and made the crossing of these rivers easier and pleasanter, except when the ice is running, than if they were both supplied with bridges. Nothing can be pleasanter or safer, than a passage in these boats.

The aspect of this city and its environs is delightful. All the objects in view are cheerful, and many of them are beautiful. The city itself, the interior of the island, bordering upon it for several miles; the western shore of the Hudson, the village on Paulus's Hook, called the City of Jersey, the islands in the bay, particularly Governor's Island; the distant shores of Staten Island; the passage between that and Long-Island, through which the Hudson empties its waters into the ocean; the shores of Long-Island, visible for many miles; the handsome town of Brooklyn, rising on a beautiful eminence, directly opposite to New-York; together with the Hudson, the East river, and the bay; form a combination of objects, alternately beautiful and magnificent.

A great part of this fine scenery is visible from the houses in State Street, at the south end of the city. The view from the houses in this street is particularly attractive, from the vivid verdure, which in the mild season covers that cheerful field, called the Battery.

It will be impossible, as well as improper, for me to give an account of the men, who in the city of New-York have

risen to distinction. The number is too great for a work of this nature; and I have not the means of the requisite information.

Among the governors sent to this province from Europe, Brigadier Hunter is remembered with particular respect, as a wise and upright ruler, and as a man enlightened by literature and science, and possessed of honourable and expansive views.

Lieutenant-Governor Colden was distinguished for great personal worth, and eminent attainments in science; particularly in natural philosophy and natural history. His botanical knowledge was probably unrivalled at that time on this side of the Atlantic. He seems, also, to have been well versed in the science of medicine. Nor was he less distinguished for his usefulness in active pursuits as a magistrate. He filled the chair of lieutenant-governor of the province for fifteen years, and during much of that period was at the head of the government. In this situation he maintained an honourable character for wisdom and equity. He projected the plan on which afterwards the American Philosophical Society was established at Philadelphia, and seems also to have entertained the first ideas of stereotype printing.

His Excellency William Livingston, governor of New-Jersey, was a native, and throughout most of his life an inhabitant of New-York. This gentleman was distinguished by an unusual combination of superior talents and great personal worth. He was born about the year 1723, was educated at Yale college; and received the degree of A. B. in 1741. His professional business was law, in which he rose to eminence. For a long period few men had more influence on the public affairs of this country. After he removed to New-Jersey, he was a representative from that state to the old congress. When the citizens of New-Jersey had formed their present constitution, he was chosen their first governor, and was annually re-elected till his death. In the year 1787, he was appointed a member of the general convention which formed the constitution of the United States. He died July 25th, 1790, at his seat in Elizabethtown, in the 68th year of his age.

The talents of Governor Livingston were very various. His imagination was brilliant, his wit sprightly and pungent,

his understanding powerful, his taste refined, and his conceptions bold and masterly. His views of political subjects were expansive, clear, and just. Of freedom, both civil and religious, he was a distinguished champion.

To his other excellencies, Governor Livingston added that of piety.

The Honourable William Smith, chief justice of the province of New-York, and afterwards of Canada, and John Morin Scott, Esq., both educated at Yale college also, were men of similar distinction. Mr. Smith took the degree of A.B. in 1745, Mr. Scott in 1746. Both gentlemen were lawyers of great eminence, and both were the peculiar friends of Governor Livingston. These three gentlemen are said to have united in the able review of American affairs, formerly mentioned in these Letters.

Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, and Governor Clinton, were remarkably distinguished for knowledge of the human character, and skill in the management of men. Governor Clinton was also a gallant soldier, and one of the strongest pillars of the American cause, during the revolutionary contest.

Among the clergy of this city, Dr. Barclay and Dr. Ogilvie, of the Episcopal church; Dr. Laidly, of the Dutch church, Dr. Mason, of the Scotch Reformed; and Mr. Bostwick and Dr. Rodgers, of the American Presbyterian; are remembered with great respect, for their talents, piety, and usefulness. Of the last of these gentlemen, the Rev. Dr. Miller, who has written his life, observes: "In that happy assemblage of practical qualities, both of the head and the heart, which go to form the respectable man; the correct and polished gentleman; the firm friend; the benevolent citizen; the spotless and exemplary Christian; the pious, dignified, and venerable ambassador of Christ; the faithful pastor; the active, zealous, persevering, and unwearied labourer in the vineyard of his Lord; it is no disparagement to eminent worth to say, that he was scarcely equalled, and certainly never exceeded, by any of his contemporaries.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

Island of Mahattan. Country Seats. Roads. Battle of Haerlem. Surrender of Fort Washington. Haerlem Bridge. West-Chester. Army of General Howe. East-Chester. New-Rochelle. Mamaroneck. Rye. Mr. Jay. County of West-Chester. Appearance of this Country in 1777.

DEAR SIR;

I CONTINUED in New-York until Monday morning; when, having taken leave of Mr. M——, I left that city for New-Haven. The road, which anciently went round by King's bridge, now crosses the same outlet of the Hudson at Haerlem bridge, nine miles from the city, and in the neighbourhood of the village of that name. There are three roads on the island, which conduct travellers to this place: the western, or Bloomingdale road, the middle, and the Bowery, or eastern. All of them are good, but in dry weather are dusty; the first is pleasant, but longer than the others; the second is the shortest, and least pleasant; the third is more travelled than either of the other two.

The island of Manhattan is about fifteen miles in length, and at an average a mile and a half, perhaps, in breadth. The surface has naturally very little beauty, and nothing which approximates to grandeur. The soil, also, is generally indifferent, and in most places lean. A considerable portion of it is still unproductive, consisting of marshes, cold and dreary, or of rocky and desolate elevations. The surface rises in an undulatory manner, as you advance towards the north. The acclivities are numerous, and frequently easy; and the vallies are open, and sometimes graceful. Art has here extensively beautified the surface and enriched the soil, throughout the southern half of the island, and probably at a future period,

these improvements will be extended over the whole. About six miles of the northern end are little cultivated. The remainder is set at small distances with cheerful habitations, with well-stocked gardens, and neat enclosures; while the heights, and many of the lower grounds, contain a rich display of gentlemen's country seats, connected with a great variety of handsome appendages. No part of the United States has such a numerous collection of villas within so small a compass, nor is any ride in this country made so cheerful by the hand of art as the first six miles on the Bowery-road; and, indeed, the whole distance to Haerlem bridge.

On the 15th September, 1776, the day after the Americans retreated from New-York, the British moved up the island six miles, and spread a considerable force from Bloomingdale on the western, to Horne's hook on the eastern shore of the island. The American advanced post was on the heights of Haerlem. The British moved into the flat ground between the heights, occupied by the two armies; and General Washington ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, with a body of Rangers from New-England, and Major Leitch, with three companies from the third Virginia regiment, to fall by a circuitous course upon the rear of this detachment, whilst he amused them in front. The project was in a good degree successful. Knowlton and Leitch attacked them, partly on the flank and partly in the rear; in consequence of a change of their position, made while the Americans were taking their circuit. Notwithstanding the late misfortunes at Brooklyn, the attack was made with great spirit and success. Both Knowlton and Leitch, however, fell in the contest, at the head of their respective corps. The captains still continued the action with firmness and resolution. The British were reinforced, and detachments were sent by General Washington from the New-England and Maryland regiments to the aid of their countrymen. Thus sustained, they charged the enemy, drove them out of the wood by which they had been sheltered, and were urging them over the open ground, when they were recalled. The British force consisted of a battalion of light infantry, and another of Highlanders, with three companies of Hessian riflemen, under the command of Brigadier-General Leslie. This event was honourable to the Americans.

They had retreated, or rather fled, from the city of New-York the preceding day, panic struck by those apprehensions of danger, which, when the mind realises its certainty, and is ignorant of its extent, will for the time make a man even of determined bravery a coward. The panic was now over. They saw their enemy, knew his strength, and were led by gallant officers. They, therefore, assumed their proper character. About fifty of their number were killed or wounded, and more than one hundred of the British.

Of Major Leitch I have no knowledge beside what I have here communicated. Knowlton had served in the last Canadian war with great reputation, and was highly esteemed by his countrymen. General Washington, having appointed a successor to him, observed, that "he fell gloriously fighting at his post, and would have been an honour to any country."

About twelve miles from New-York, on the western side of the island, stood Fort Washington, intended, together with Fort Lee on the opposite shore, to serve as a defence of Hudson's river; such a defence, it was hoped, as would prevent British ships of war from advancing above this point. The design was fruitless and visionary; but not more so, perhaps, than the operations of every army will exhibit, which consists chiefly of self-taught officers and raw troops. The works also were inadequate, had the design itself been practicable. It is unnecessary to detail the story of its attack and surrender. A body of five thousand men, under the command of General Kniphausen, carried the lines, altogether disproportioned in their extent to the force destined for their defence, by a well directed assault, and Colonel Magaw, their commanding officer, surrendered the garrison as prisoners of war. It has been generally supposed that the defence was gallant and honourable. It would gratify me to see this opinion supported by any tolerable evidence. This was the last spot possessed by the Americans on the island of Manhattan, until after the evacuation of New-York in November 1783.

The ancient road from New-York to New-England crossed King's bridge, and the erection of a bridge between Harlem and Morrisania was esteemed for a long time so expensive and difficult a work, as to forbid even the hope of its accomplish-

ment, unless at some distant period. In the year 1790 General Morris was authorised by law to erect a bridge between Haerlem and Morrisania. After some years he transferred this power to John B. Coles, Esq., of New-York. Mr. Coles immediately erected the bridge, *viz.* in 1796; and with such facility and dispatch as disappointed the predictions, and even the hopes of the public. In consequence of this event a new road was laid out from Haerlem heights to Mamaroneck, which, beside passing in many places over better ground, shortened the distance almost four miles in twenty.

Between Haerlem heights and the bridge is built the village of Haerlem, on both sides of a small creek. It contains about seventy or eighty houses, most of them neat; and among them several country seats, belonging to citizens of New-York, together with a church of the Dutch communion. The appearance of this village is cheerful and pleasant.

On a plain at a small distance from this village are the New-York race grounds.

After crossing the bridge we enter Morrisania, in the township of West-Chester, anciently a borough, in the English sense of that term. Whether it still retains this denomination I am ignorant. The town lies four or five miles from the bridge, on the Sound, and at that distance from the New-England road. I have never seen it. Between three and four miles from the bridge the road passes over an easy, undulating ground, containing very few houses. A great part of this distance the lands belong to the family of Morris. At its termination a pretty village, named Westfarms, has risen upon both sides of the Bronx, around some valuable mills upon that river, formerly owned by a Mr. De Lancey, and still generally known by the name of De Lancey's mills. This village owes its existence to the alteration of the road, and the erection of Haerlem bridge. It has already become, as I am informed, more considerable than the town of West-Chester, and has a very cheerful aspect. The houses are generally neat, and a few of them appear to be the residences of gentlemen. The inhabitants are principally mechanics and manufacturers, and are fast increasing in number.

West-Chester contains but one church, and, as I believe,

but one congregation, which is Episcopal*. The number of its inhabitants in 1790 was 1,336; in 1800, 1,377; and, in 1810, 1,966.

The soil of this township is moderately good, and some of it of a superior quality. The surface, which abounds in rocks and stones, is everywhere uneven, and generally unpleasant. Its position on the Sound, and the neighbourhood of New-York, make the land, however, much more valuable than better lands in the interior.

On the eastern limit of this township, where it meets the Sound, is the peninsula of Throg's Neck, a vulgar contraction of Throgmorton's Neck. On this ground General Howe landed a considerable part of his army, October 12th, 1776, in order to cut off the communication between the army of General Washington, then lying above and below King's bridge, with the country. Here he continued six days, and then transported his army to Pell's Point in the manor of Pelham, about six miles north-eastward.

This part of General Howe's conduct has ever appeared to me inexplicable. During the whole of the period while he lay at Throg's Neck he was within six miles of the line, on which General Washington moved his army from King's bridge to White Plains. The movement proceeded slowly and heavily, for the want of a sufficient supply of teams to convey the artillery, stores, baggage, &c. Had the Americans been attacked at this time by the British force, they must, I think, have been ruined. Such an attack might have been made with perfect ease on any one of these six days. An army, thus situated, even when thoroughly disciplined, and amply provided, must, from the slender force which it could present at any one point, have fallen victims to the strong columns led by General Howe. The bridge, which connects Throg's Neck with the main, was indeed broken down, but he might have landed his troops with equal convenience and safety upon the shore on either side, or at any other place within the township of West-Chester. Nor would the little means of defence furnished by the surface of the ground, the enclosures of stone,

* West-farms, since this was written, *viz.* in 1814, has been formed into a Presbyterian congregation, built a church, and settled a respectable clergyman.

groves, and buildings, nor the little American parties, which were directed to avail themselves of these means, have materially obstructed his progress. But the opportunity was lost, and General Washington moved his whole army to the rear of the White Plains. They were then attacked, but it was too late.

Equally inexplicable has it ever seemed to me, that the British commander did not originally move his army up the East, or the North river, or both, immediately after the battle of Brooklyn, and station them in the rear of General Washington. Had this measure been taken, the whole body of Americans, except a few fugitives, must have fallen into his hands. The defence of New-York was, I presume, undertaken solely to satisfy the citizens of that state; for, circumstanced as it was, no spot could have been less capable of a defence. The measure could never have been dictated by General Washington's own judgment. At the same time the possession of that city, though a great convenience to the enemy, could scarcely be considered even as a step towards the conquest of the country. Nothing in the conduct of the Americans, during the revolutionary war, was more ill-devised than the several efforts (including the erection of Fort Washington and Fort Lee) intended for the defence of this island and the Hudson.

East-Chester is the next township on this road. Its surface is somewhat smoother, and less stony than that of West-Chester, and its soil of a better quality. A small, scattered village, composed of indifferently looking houses, surrounds an Episcopal church, built of stone, about three-fourths of a mile north of the present road. I passed through this village in the year 1774, and know not a place possessed of so many advantages, which has altered so little within that period. The rest of the township is covered with plantations.

New-Rochelle, the next township, is more inviting. On a beautiful hill, about three miles from East-Chester, stands the village built by the French Protestants, who originally formed a settlement in this place. Several of their houses, and, I presume, of their descendants, are still remaining. The ground on which New-Rochelle is built is a handsome eminence of considerable height, gradually and almost insensibly declining to

the east, west, and south, and commanding a delightful prospect of the neighbouring country and the Sound. The old French houses, long buildings of stone, of one story, with few and small windows, and high, steep roofs, are very ill-suited to the appearance of this fine ground. Nor is the church, built by the same people in the same style, at all more ornamental. There are, however, several good English houses. Some others are erected on the border of the Sound*.

Mamaroneck, so far as it is visible from the road, is generally a rough, stony tract, covered with a strong soil. It is wholly a collection of plantations, and can scarcely be said to contain even a hamlet. It is set, however, with a number of good houses and excellent farms, and presents several very pleasing views to the eye of a traveller, particularly around Mamaroneck bay. On the creek of the same name, a mill-stream, which enters the head of this bay, there has been lately erected a large, well-appearing, and expensive building, which is intended for a manufactory, whether of cotton, or wool, or both, I am ignorant.

Rye borders upon Mamaroneck eastward, and has a much handsomer surface, and a still better soil. On an elevation, not far from its western limit, stands the mansion-house of the late Mr. Jay, father of the Honourable John Jay. It is now the property of Mr. Peter Jay, the youngest son of the original proprietor. This gentleman had the misfortune to become blind, when he was fourteen years of age. It has not, however, prevented him from possessing a fine mind, and an excellent character, or from being highly respected and beloved by his acquaintance. Notwithstanding the disadvantage under which Mr. Jay labours, he directs all his own concerns with skill and success, and often with an ingenuity and discernment, which have astonished those by whom they were known. Some years since, as I was informed by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, Mr. Jay, having directed a carpenter to renew the fence which enclosed his garden, made a little excursion to visit some of his friends. Upon his return he was told, that the posts for the front line of the garden were already set up. He therefore went out to examine them, and having walked with

* The inhabitants have lately built a neat Presbyterian church.

attention along the whole row, declared, that it was not straight. The carpenter insisted, that his eyes were better guides in this case than Mr. Jay's hands. Mr. Jay still persisted in his opinion, and pointed out the place where the row diverged from a right line. Upon a re-examination the carpenter found a small bend in the row, at the very spot designated by his employer.

Delicacy of feeling was remarkably shown by the same gentleman on the following occasion. The account I received from the late Honourable John Sloss Hobart, one of the judges of the supreme court of this state.

Several gentlemen were at Mr. Jay's on a friendly visit, and among them Judge Hobart. In the room where they were sitting was a large stand, or what used to be called in this country a corner-table. One of the company observed, that so wide a board must have been furnished by a tree of remarkable size. Another doubted whether the board was single. It was examined; no joint could be found, and the generally uniform aspect of the surface seemed to prove that it was but one board. Governor Jay, who had gone out, was asked, when he returned, whether the table was formed of one or two boards. Upon his declaring that it was made of two, a new examination was had, but none of the company could find the joint. The Governor then observed, that his brother would be able to show them where it was. Mr. Jay soon came in, and having moved his finger for a moment over the middle of the table, rested it upon the joint. It was barely visible, even when thus pointed out. When we remember, that it was so nicely made at first, and that it had been waxed and polished for perhaps half a century, we shall be satisfied that the touch, able so easily to detect an object, imperceptible to every eye in this company, must possess an exquisiteness of sensibility, which, antecedent to such a fact, would scarcely be credible.

There are two villages in Rye, one of which is customarily called Rye, consisting of perhaps twenty houses, built on the border of a small mill-stream, which passes through the centre of this township. The other is extended along Byram river, and contains fifty or sixty. Both of these villages are decent, and include several good houses. The southern and principal

part of the latter village is called the Saw-pit. The northern is called Byram.

There are two small churches in Rye, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian. An Episcopal minister has occasionally been established here, but there has been no Presbyterian minister within my remembrance.

Byram river, the eastern boundary of Rye, separates the state of New-York in this quarter from that of Connecticut.

To these observations I shall add a few remarks concerning the county of West-Chester. This county extends about forty miles from north to south along Hudson's river, and about eighteen along the Sound. Its northern boundary is a line running from east to west about twenty-five. Its eastern boundary is the crooked line, mentioned in the beginning of this work as the southern extremity of the west border of New-England.

This county contains twenty-one townships. Those on the Sound are, however, small. It is universally settled, so far as the nature of the ground will admit, and is almost merely a collection of farms. All the villages of any importance have been mentioned in the observations made above, except one, Bedford, which, however, is the most considerable in the county, and the shire town, and lies about twelve or fourteen miles north-west from Stamford.

The surface of this county is generally rough and hilly, but nowhere mountainous, except that it borders on the Highlands. It abounds in rocks and stones, chiefly granite. The townships on the Sound have generally a rich soil, and produce every thing suited to the climate. The agriculture is moderately good, and in a few instances, under the direction of several gentlemen who have embarked in this business with zeal, is not, I believe, excelled in the United States.

West-Chester is well watered with springs, brooks, and mill-streams. Its advantages for a market, and the means of conveying to it its produce, are perhaps singular; one of its boundaries being the Sound, and another the Hudson.

The prospects presented in frequent succession on this road are very beautiful and brilliant.

Neither learning nor religion has, within my knowledge,

flourished to any great extent among the inhabitants. Academies have been established at New-Rochelle, Bedford, and Salem, but neither of them has permanently flourished. The ancient inhabitants had scarcely any schools, at least of any value. A few gentlemen are scattered in various parts of this county, possessing the intelligence usually found in that class of men, but the people at large are extremely stinted in their information.

The little attention paid by them to religion is strongly seen in this fact, that there are but two settled ministers in the six townships on this road. Yet the tract which they occupy contains six thousand and thirty-eight inhabitants. The congregations, which form the cures of these ministers, do not, I believe, amount to a thousand persons. The same unpleasant truth was also strikingly taught to the public by the Missionary Society of New-York the last year*. This respectable body determined by a solemn act, that West-Chester was proper missionary ground, and accordingly directed one of their missionaries to appropriate his labours to these people only. No person acquainted with the county will hesitate to acknowledge, that the decision was worthy of the wisdom and benevolence of the gentlemen by whom it was made.

The generality of these people are in a good degree industrious, and, although their houses are in great numbers indifferent, are yet in easy circumstances. But their minds are almost wholly engrossed by the field, the stall, and the market; the boat or the waggon which conveys them to it, and the gain to which it gives birth. With other interests most of them have little concern, and with other regions none. Very worthy people are found among them, in humble as well as superior life; but there is reason to fear, that a great part of the present generation will, as a great part of their predecessors have done, experience, when they enter the future world, their first solemn conviction that such a world exists. I feel a strong inclination to extend these remarks, but I will desist.

In the autumn of 1777, I resided for some time in this county. The lines of the British were then in the neighbourhood of King's bridge, and those of the Americans at Byram

* 1812.

river. These unhappy people were, therefore, exposed to the depredations of both. Often they were actually plundered; and always were liable to this calamity. They feared every body whom they saw, and loved nobody. It was a curious fact to a philosopher, and a melancholy one to a moralist, to hear their conversation. To every question they gave such an answer as would please the inquirer; or, if they despaired of pleasing, such an one as would not provoke him. Fear was, apparently, the only passion by which they were animated. The power of volition seemed to have deserted them. They were not civil, but obsequious; not obliging, but subservient. They yielded with a kind of apathy, and very quietly, what you asked, and what they supposed it impossible for them to retain. If you treated them kindly, they received it coldly; not as kindness, but as a compensation for injuries done them by others. When you spoke to them, they answered you without either good or ill-nature, and without any appearance of reluctance or hesitation; but they subjoined neither questions nor remarks of their own, proving to your full conviction, that they felt no interest, either in the conversation, or in yourself. Both their countenances and their motions had lost every trace of animation and of feeling. Their features were smoothed, not into serenity, but apathy; and instead of being settled in the attitude of quiet thinking, strongly indicated, that all thought beyond what was merely instinctive had fled their minds for ever.

Their houses, in the mean time, were in a great measure scenes of desolation. Their furniture was extensively plundered, or broken to pieces. The walls, floors, and windows were injured both by violence and decay, and were not repaired, because they had not the means of repairing them, and because they were exposed to the repetition of the same injuries. Their cattle were gone. Their enclosures were burnt, where they were capable of becoming fuel, and in many cases thrown down, where they were not. Their fields were covered with a rank growth of weeds and wild grass. Amid all this appearance of desolation, nothing struck my own eye more forcibly than the sight of this great road, the passage from New-York to Boston. Where I had heretofore seen a continual succession of horses and carriages, and life and bustle

lent a sprightliness to all the environing objects, not a single solitary traveller was visible from week to week, or from month to month. The world was motionless and silent, except when one of these unhappy people ventured upon a rare and lonely excursion to the house of a neighbour no less unhappy; or a scouting party, traversing the country in quest of enemies, alarmed the inhabitants with expectations of new injuries and sufferings. The very tracks of the carriages were grown over and obliterated, and, where they were discernible, resembled the faint impressions of chariot wheels, said to be left on the pavements of Herculaneum. The grass was of full height for the scythe, and strongly realised to my own mind, for the first time, the proper import of that picturesque declaration in the song of Deborah:—"In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through bye-paths. The inhabitants of the villages ceased; they ceased in Israel."

The county of West-Chester contained, in 1790, 24,003; in 1800, 27,428; and, in 1810, 30,272 inhabitants. East-Chester contained, in 1790, 740; in 1800, 738; and, in 1810, 1,039 inhabitants. Pelham contained, in 1790, 199; in 1800, 234; and, in 1810, 267 inhabitants. New-Rochelle contained, in 1790, 692; in 1800, 943; and, in 1810, 996 inhabitants. Mamaroneck contained, in 1790, 452; in 1800, 503; and, in 1810, 496 inhabitants. Rye contained, in 1790, 986; in 1800, 974; and, in 1810, 1,274 inhabitants.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Greenwich. Putnam's Hill. Stamford. Honourable Abraham Davenport. Rev. Dr. Wells. Honourable James Davenport. Shipan. Middlesex. Rev. Dr. Mather. Burning of Norwalk. Fairfield. Expedition of the British troops to Danbury. General Wooster. General Silliman. Rev. Mr. Hobart. Burning of Fairfield. Reflections. Burning of Greens-Farms.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of Connecticut is bounded in this quarter by the middle of Byram river. Byram point, on the eastern side of this stream, is the south-western corner of the state, and of the township of Greenwich. Its latitude is 40° 58′ north; and its longitude 74° 18′ west of Greenwich.

The township of Greenwich is formed of rough, stony hills, particularly on the road. More wild and desolate scenery can scarcely be imagined than that, which is presented to the traveller during the two first miles. But the grounds at a little distance, both above and below the road, are smoother. The soil is of the best quality, and fitted for every production of the climate. There is not a more fertile tract of the same extent in the state.

Greenwich is divided into three parishes. West Greenwich on the west; Greenwich on the east; and Stanwich, a part of which is taken from Stamford, on the north. West Greenwich is vulgarly called Horseneck, from a peninsula on the Sound, anciently used as a pasture for horses; and it is the largest, richest, and most populous part of the township.

Greenwich contains four congregations, three Presbyterian and one Episcopal. The last is in West Greenwich, and is a

plurality, supplied at times by the Episcopal minister of Stamford. The Presbyterian church is a neat building, standing on an elevation commanding a rich and very extensive prospect of the Connecticut shore, the Sound, and Long-Island. The whole of this township is filled with plantations. The settlement was begun, after it had been purchased of the Indians, in 1640, under the Dutch government at New-York; then New-Amsterdam. In 1665, it was incorporated by Governor Stuyvesant. It was, however, originally purchased for the colony of New-Haven by Robert Feaks and Daniel Patrick. But the purchasers violated their engagements to that colony; and, together with the few inhabitants, placed themselves under the government of New-Amsterdam. The settlement went on heavily until the people returned to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, then including the colony of New-Haven. The Indians were hostile to the Dutch, and were therefore not very favourably inclined towards the inhabitants. In 1646, a furious battle was fought here on Strickland's plain. The contest was continued for a long time with great obstinacy, and was very bloody. The Dutch finally kept the field, and the Indians suddenly withdrew. The graves, in which the slain were buried, were visible more than a century afterwards.

The inhabitants of West Greenwich are distributed into two distinct classes. A part of them are Connecticut people in their character: the rest resemble not a little the people of the neighbouring county of West-Chester. Generally they are in easy circumstances.

The houses are like those in the county of West-Chester. They are built on every road where the property and the convenience of the owner dictated. On the great road they stand at moderate distances, so that the whole tract is populated.

About one fourth of a mile east of the Presbyterian church there is a steep declivity, now generally called Putnam's hill, from the following incident. General Putnam was pursued to the brow of this precipice by some British light dragoons, in the revolutionary war. The road at that time turned, a little before it came to the brow of the hill, to the north; and, after proceeding a considerable distance, bent again with a

sharp angle towards the south, having been dug along the steep in such a manner, as to make the passage practicable and tolerably safe. General Putnam, under the influence of the same spirit with which he entered the wolf's den, being hard pressed by his pursuers, forced his horse directly down the precipice; winding his course, however, in such a zig-zag direction as enabled him to keep his feet. His pursuers, when they came to the top of the precipice, struck with astonishment, or rather with horror, stopped; and, despairing of overtaking him by the circuitous course of the road, gave over the chase. Every traveller, who has heard the story, has not improbably felt his blood chill at the bare thought of such an adventure. The road is, however, so much altered at the present time as to prevent the eye from easily realizing the full extent of the hazard. It is now blown through the rocks above at a great expense, and continued by a causey from the foot of the chasm to the valley below, in the very direction where the general descended.

On the brow of this hill stands a small decayed Episcopal church. This is the building, pompously exhibited in that mass of folly and falsehood, commonly called Peters's History of Connecticut, as of such magnificence, that it is ascended by a flight of no less than seventy steps. The truth is, that the members of the congregation, who lived below the hill, being unwilling to take the tedious circuit of the road, when walking to the church, and being unable to ascend the hill in its original state, gathered a collection of stones from the road and the neighbouring enclosures, and placed them at convenient distances, to aid themselves in climbing this steep. The number is commonly reported to be seventy; but, instead of being a magnificent flight of steps, conducting to a magnificent church, the appearance of the former is so insignificant, that a traveller, unless he has happened to observe, what indeed would very naturally escape his observation, the regularity of their arrangement, would not distinguish them from the common stones of the street. The latter is one of the most indifferent buildings, which bears the name of a church, of any denomination in the state of Connecticut.

Greenwich, the first or oldest parish in this township, is separated from West Greenwich by Mianus river, a sprightly

mill-stream, entering the Sound about four miles from Byram. The surface of this parish, also, is generally rough, and the soil excellent, especially towards the Sound. The inhabitants have been distinguished for their indifference to religion, and their neglect of the education of their children. The settlement of this spot was begun more than one hundred and fifty years since, and about one hundred and ten years of this period they have been destitute of a minister. The evil may, however, be partly attributed to the smallness of the parish, and is one instance of the malignant efficacy of that subdivision, heretofore mentioned*, by which congregations are rendered unable to support the public worship of God.

In 1756, Greenwich contained 2,021 inhabitants, no blacks; in 1774, 2,776, blacks 114, Indians 8; in 1800, 3,047; and, in 1810, 3,533.

Stamford, the next township, was purchased of the Indians by Captain Nathaniel Turner, agent for the colony of New-Haven, of Ponus, sagamore of Toquamshe, and of Wassussue, sagamore of Shipan; who sold to Turner all the lands belonging to them, with a reservation of some ground for planting. "Turner gave the natives for the New-Haven purchase twelve coats, twelve hoes, twelve hatchets, twelve knives, two kettles, and four fathom of white wampum." Afterwards a part or the whole of this tract was purchased of New-Haven by some of the inhabitants of Wethersfield. The purchasers gave New-Haven for the township of Stamford thirty-three pounds, and obliged themselves to join with the people of that colony in the form of government, then lately agreed on. Twenty men agreed to settle here by the last of November, 1641, and before the end of 1641 there were thirty or forty families established. The inhabitants were, however, frequently alarmed by threatenings of invasion both from the Indians and the Dutch, and for a considerable time were at great expense in fortifying and guarding themselves; and once, in 1653, their troubles became so great, that they were on the point of a revolt, but were quieted by the prudent measures of the colony.

* See vol. i, p. 265.

This township contains two parishes, Stamford and North-Stamford; a part of two others, *viz.* Stanwich, already mentioned, on the north-west, and Middlesex on the south-east. Its surface is generally undulating and stony. Near the shore there are two plains; one of considerable extent, where the town is built, and a small one about two miles farther eastward; both handsome grounds. The hills and vallies also are arched, and softer to the eye than those of Greenwich. The soil is excellent. The first parish contains three congregations, a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, and a Baptist; each of which has a decent church.

The town is built in an irregular manner. The principal street is a portion of the road, winding and destitute of beauty. It contains a few very good, a number somewhat larger of decent, and many ordinary houses.

Both religion and education have always been here at a low ebb: yet for many years there have been several good private schools, in which, however, children from New-York have been almost the only pupils.

In this town lived the Honourable Abraham Davenport, for a long period one of the councillors of the state, and, before that, of the colony of Connecticut. This gentleman was son of Rev. John Davenport, the second minister of Stamford, a grandson of Rev. John Davenport, the father of the New-Haven colony. Colonel Davenport was possessed of a vigorous understanding and invincible firmness of mind; of integrity and justice unquestioned even by his enemies; of veracity exact in a degree nearly singular; and of a weight of character, which for many years decided in this county almost every question to which it was lent. He was early a professor of the Christian religion, and adorned its doctrines by an exemplary conformity to its precepts. He was often styled a rough diamond; and the appellation was, perhaps, never given with more propriety. His virtues were all of the masculine kind; less soft, graceful, and alluring than his friends wished, but more extensively productive of real good to mankind than those of almost any man, who has been distinguished for gentleness of character. It would be happy for this or any other country, if the magistracy should execute its laws with the exactness for which he was distinguished. Colo-

nel Davenport acquired property with diligence, and preserved it with frugality; and hence was by many persons supposed to regard it with an improper attachment. This, however, was a very erroneous opinion. Of what was merely ornamental, he was, I think, too regardless; but the poor found nowhere a more liberal benefactor, nor the stranger a more hospitable host. I say this from personal knowledge, acquired by a long-continued and intimate acquaintance with him and his family. While the war had its seat in the state of New-York, he took the entire superintendence of the sick soldiers who were returning home, filled his own houses with them, and devoted to their relief his own time and that of his family; while he provided elsewhere the best accommodations for such as he could not receive. In a season, when an expectation of approaching scarcity had raised the price of bread corn to an enormous height, he not only sold the produce of his own farms to the poor at the former customary price, but bought corn extensively, and sold this also as he had sold his own. His alms were at the same time rarely equalled in their extent.

Two instances of Colonel Davenport's firmness deserve to be mentioned. The 19th of May, 1780, was a remarkably dark day. Candles were lighted in many houses, the birds were silent and disappeared, and the fowls retired to roost. The legislature of Connecticut was then in session at Hartford. A very general opinion prevailed, that the day of judgment was at hand. The house of representatives, being unable to transact their business, adjourned. A proposal to adjourn the council was under consideration. When the opinion of Colonel Davenport was asked, he answered, "I am against an adjournment. The day of judgment is either approaching, or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for an adjournment: if it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish, therefore, that candles may be brought."

The other instance took place at Danbury, at the court of common pleas, of which he was chief justice. This venerable man, after he was struck with death, heard a considerable part of a trial, gave the charge to the jury, and took notice of an article in the testimony, which had escaped the attention of the counsel on both sides. He then retired from the bench, and was soon after found dead in his bed.

To his friends Colonel Davenport extended his acts of kindness, as if they had been his children. I say this from experience. Of his country, and of all its great interests, he was a pillar of granite. Nothing impaired, nothing moved his resolution and firmness, while destined to support, in his own station, this valuable edifice.

He was educated at Yale college, in which he took the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1732. He died, as he had long wished to die, in the immediate performance of his duty, in November, 1789.

The Rev. Dr. Noah Welles of this town was also educated at the same seminary, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1741, and was ordained over the first church, Dec. 31st, 1746. In this station he continued till his death in 1776. Dr. Welles was early distinguished for his talents. His imagination was vivid and poetical; his intellect vigorous, and his learning extensive. His manners, at the same time, were an unusual happy compound of politeness and dignity. In his conversation he was alternately sprightly and grave, as occasion dictated, and entertaining and instructive. At the same time he was an excellent minister of the Gospel, exemplary in all the virtues of the Christian life, an able preacher, a wise ruler of the church, and an eminently discreet manager of its important concerns. He was one of the three chosen friends of the late Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey; to whom he addressed, when young, a handsomely written poem, prefixed to his Philosophic Solitude. He was appointed a tutor of Yale college, in 1745; chosen one of the fellows in 1774; and died December 31, 1776, at the age of fifty-eight.

The Honourable James Davenport, younger son of the gentleman mentioned above, was educated at Yale college, where he received the degree of A. B. 1777. He was afterwards chosen into the council of this state, and, in 1796, into the American congress; of which he was a member until he died, August 3d, 1797, in the 39th year of his age.

Few persons in this country have been more, or more deservedly esteemed than Mr. Davenport. His mind was of a structure almost singular. An infirm constitution precluded him, to a considerable extent, from laborious study during his

early years, and, indeed, throughout most of his life. Yet an unwearied attention to useful objects, a critical observation of every thing important which fell under his eye, and a strong attachment to intelligent conversation, enabled him, by the aid of a discernment almost intuitive to accumulate a rich fund of valuable knowledge. With respect to conversation he was peculiar. The company of intelligent persons he sought with the same eagerness and constancy, as the student his books. Here he always started topics of investigation, fitted to improve the mind as well as to please; and, in this way, gathered knowledge with the industry and success, with which the bee makes every flower increase the treasures of its hive. I never knew the value of intelligent conversation, and the extent of the contributions which it is capable of furnishing to the stock of knowledge possessed by an individual, exhibited more clearly and decisively than in his example. At the same time, his own conversation was so agreeable and intelligent, and his manners so engaging, that his company was coveted by all his numerous acquaintance. His life, also, was without a stain; and on his integrity, candour, and justice, his countrymen placed an absolute reliance. With these qualifications, it will not be a matter of wonder, that at an early period of his life he was employed by the public in an almost continual succession of public business; or that he executed every commission of this nature honourably to himself, and usefully to his country. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, of a paralytic stroke, brought on by a long-continued and very severe chronic rheumatism. Few persons have been more universally or deeply lamented.

There are three uncommonly interesting spots in this township: one on the western side of the harbour, which is called the South-field, a rich and beautiful farm. Another is a peninsula on the east side of the harbour, mentioned above under the name of Shipan, the property of Moses Rogers, Esq., of the city of New-York. This, also, is an elegant and fertile piece of ground. The surface slopes in every direction, and is encircled by a collection of exquisite scenery. The Sound, and Long-Island beyond it, with a gracefully-indented shore, are directly in front; and both stretch westward to a vast distance, and eastward till the eye is lost. On each side,

also, lies a harbour, bounded by handsome points. A train of groves and bushy islands, peculiarly pleasing in themselves, increase by their interruptions the beauty of these waters. The farm itself is a delightful object, with its fields neatly enclosed, its orchards and its groves. Here Mr. Rogers has formed an avenue, a mile in length, reaching quite to the water's edge. At the same time he has planted on the grounds, surrounding his house, almost all the forest-trees which are indigenous to this country. To these he has united plantations of fruit-trees, a rich garden, and other interesting objects, so combined as to make this one of the pleasantest retreats in the United States.

The third, named the Cove, is on the western side of Norwalk river. On this spot, in very advantageous situations, have been erected two large mills for the manufacturing of flour, and a small village, or rather hamlet, for mechanics of various kinds. The view of the harbour in front, the points by which it is limited, the small but beautiful islands which it contains, the Sound, the Long-Island shore, a noble sheet of water in the rear, the pleasant village of Norwalk, and the hills and groves in the interior, is rarely equalled by scenery of the same nature, especially when taken from a plain scarcely elevated above the level of the ocean.

Middlesex is a small parish, the centre of which is five miles from Stamford.

On Sunday, the 22d day of July, 1781, while the congregation were employed in public worship, a body of British troops, consisting chiefly of refugees, surrounded their church, and took the whole number prisoners, together with their minister, the Rev. Moses Mather, D. D. This venerable man was marched, with his parishioners, to the shore; and thence conveyed to Lloyd's Neck. From that place he was soon marched to New-York, and confined in the provost prison. Here his food was stinted and wretched, to a degree not easily imaginable. His lodging corresponded with his food. His company, to a considerable extent, was made up of mere rabble; and their conversation, from which he could not retreat, composed of profaneness and ribaldry. Here, also, he was insulted daily by the provost-marshal, whose name

was Cunningham; a wretch remembered in this country only with detestation. This wretch, among other kinds of abuse, took a particular satisfaction in announcing from time to time to Dr. Mather, that on that day, the morrow, or some other time, at a little distance, he was to be executed.

But Dr. Mather was not without his friends; friends, however, who knew nothing of him, except his character. A lady of distinction having learned his circumstances, and having obtained the necessary permission, sent to him clothes, and food, and comforts, with a very liberal hand.

Dr. Mather was a man distinguished for learning and piety, a strong understanding, and a most exemplary life. His natural temper was grave and unbending. His candour was that of the Gospel; "the wisdom, which is from above;" which, while it is "pure and peaceable," is also "without partiality." Of this a remarkable instance may be given. In the prime of life he had a strenuous public controversy with one of the ministers in Connecticut, on a subject belonging to the discipline and communion of the church. The debate was sufficiently ardent on both sides. In the decline of life, but in the full possession of his faculties, he was convinced that he was in an error, by the very writings which he had before answered. This fact he cheerfully acknowledged to his brethren.

Dr. Mather died September 21st, 1806, venerated by all who knew him, in the 88th year of his age. He was educated at Yale college, of which he was a fellow thirteen years. This office he resigned in 1790. His powers, both of body and mind, he retained till a little time before his death.

Stamford contained, in 1756, 2,648 whites, and 120 blacks; in 1794, 3,503 whites, and 60 blacks; in 1800, 4,351 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,440. In this interval the township of New-Canaan, containing 1,599 inhabitants, was taken from Stamford and Norwalk, principally, however, from the latter.

Norwalk was purchased of the Indians, the eastern and middle parts about the year 1640; the western, in February 15, 1651. The settlement was little more than begun till the latter period, twenty families only inhabiting it at this time. The succeeding four years the number of settlers increased

so fast, that they were incorporated. Its history during the continuance of Indian ravages is distinguished by nothing peculiar.

The surface of Norwalk generally resembles that of Stamford, but the hills are less elegantly formed. The valley, which lies along Norwalk river, and in which the town is built, is beautiful. Few richer prospects of the same extent can be found, than that which is presented from the neighbouring eminences of this ground; the town, built in its bosom, with its cheerful spires; the river, flowing through the middle; the farms on the bordering hills; the rich plain, which skirts the Sound; and a train of islands fronting the mouth of the river, and extending eastward five or six miles, together with an unlimited view of the Sound and the Long-Island shore.

The soil of this township is excellent.

The houses are better built than in Stamford or Greenwich. It contains two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, both neat buildings. An academy was established here some years since, and continued for a considerable time, but was afterwards given up. The river is navigable for sloops to the bridge, and is the channel of some commerce, carried on principally coastwise. Its banks at the head of navigation are lined with stores. From the manuscripts of the Reverend Mr. Dickinson, formerly minister of Norwalk, Dr. Trumbull has derived the following facts:—

From the first settlement of the township to 1732, more than eighty years, there was no general sickness among the inhabitants, except the measles. During four years, from 1715 to 1719, only twelve persons died. Of a company of militia, consisting of one hundred, not an individual died during fourteen years, from 1716 to 1730. Mrs. Hanford, relict of the first minister, died September 12th, 1730, aged one hundred years.

These, it must be admitted, are very strong proofs of salubrity. Yet Norwalk has been long regarded as being in an uncommon degree exposed to the consumption. The late Dr. Leaming, Episcopal minister of this town, having mentioned this fact to me in conversation, attributed it to the shape and position of the valley; through which, he remarked, the winds, both from the north and the south, blew with great

violence. Hence, he observed, the changes in the atmosphere were felt more deeply than either on hills or plains, and by delicate constitutions more fatally. Whatever may be the cause, the fact cannot, I believe, be questioned.

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, formerly governor of the colony of Connecticut, was an inhabitant of this town. There has scarcely been a wiser man, or a more useful magistrate, in that office, than Mr. Fitch. In the year 1765 he took the oath of office prescribed in the stamp act. This rendered him so unpopular, that the following year he lost the chair.

Governor Fitch was educated at Yale college, where he took the degree of A.B. in 1721. By profession he was a lawyer, and probably the most learned lawyer who had ever been an inhabitant of the colony. In his various public stations of councillor, judge of the superior court, lieutenant-governor, and governor, he was considered as not surpassed in wisdom and integrity.

In 1779, a British force, under the command of Governor Tryon and Brigadier-General Garth, having landed at New-Haven, and plundered the inhabitants on the 5th and 6th of July, proceeded to Fairfield on the 8th, and burnt it; thence they crossed the Sound to Huntington-Bay, where they continued till the 11th. They then sailed to Norwalk, and landed in the night, on the plain which lies east of the river. The next morning they marched into the town; and, after plundering the inhabitants, set fire to the houses. In this conflagration were consumed one hundred and thirty-five dwelling-houses, and a proportional number of out-houses and barns. From the street, which lies parallel to the river on the eastern side, ascends a small conical hill, named Grummon's Hill. From the top of this eminence, Governor Tryon, seated in a chair, surveyed the prospect, as was believed, with a pleasure which will be grudged to him by no person who merits the appellation of a man. The British were resisted in this enterprise, feebly indeed, by a little party of continental troops, and scattered bodies of militia.

The inhabitants were compensated in some degree for their losses by the state, which gave them, and their fellow-sufferers in Fairfield, Danbury, New-Haven, New-London, and Groton, half a million of acres of land on the south shore of Lake

Erie, in what was called the Connecticut reserve, now a part of the state of Ohio.

In the year 1800, Norwalk contained 5,146 inhabitants. Since that time the township of Wilton, and the principal part of New-Canaan, have been taken from it, containing together 3,327. In 1810, the number of inhabitants in Norwalk was 2,983. The number within the former limits was, in 1756, 3,050; and, in 1774, 4,388.

The eastern side of Norwalk is washed by Saugatuck river. This is a considerable mill-stream, which, rising from different parts in the northern townships of this county, washing a part of Ridgefield, Reading, Weston, &c., discharges its waters into the Sound at this place. Its mouth for several miles forms a good harbour. At the head of the navigation it is crossed by a bridge, around which is a neat, flourishing, and very pleasant village, built on both sides of the river, but principally on the eastern.

The township of Fairfield, which formerly included those of Reading and Weston, contains at the present time three parishes, Fairfield, Greenfield, and Green's Farms, and a part of the parish of Stratfield. The surface is rarely exceeded in beauty. The hills, vallies, and plains are elegant in their form, and beautifully located. The prospects, which it furnishes from many points, are extensive, and rarely surpassed. The soil also is of the first quality, and suited, in as high a degree perhaps as any other in this country, to every production of the climate.

Fairfield, named by the Indians "Unquowa," was originally purchased by Roger Ludlow, Esq., the principal planter of Windsor, and the first deputy governor of Connecticut. Having led a part of the troops who pursued the Pequods to this spot, and finally destroyed them, he was so much pleased with the beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, that he resolved to purchase it. Having accomplished the design, he removed, with eight or ten families, from Windsor, and began a settlement in the year 1639. The planters were soon joined by a company from Watertown, and another from Concord, in Massachusetts, so that the plantation became populous.

The parish of Green's Farms extends from Saugatuck river,

along the Sound, nearly four miles. The lands are rich, and on them reside some of the best farmers in the state. The only village which it contains is that already mentioned, on Saugatuck river. It includes one Presbyterian congregation.

At the mouth of the Saugatuck, on the eastern side, rises a hill of remarkable beauty, known by the name of Compo, the south-western corner of Green's Farms. In the year 1777, two thousand British troops, under the command of Governor Tryon, disembarked here, April 26th in the morning, and proceeded immediately to Danbury. Major-General Silliman, who at that time commanded the militia of this county, immediately dispatched expresses to spread the alarm through the neighbouring country. Before the militia could be assembled, the enemy had proceeded far on the road to Danbury, and reached it almost without opposition. Colonel Huntington, who was here with about one hundred men, retired to an eminence in the vicinity, with the hope of being reinforced. General Arnold was also in the neighbourhood, having been directed to superintend the raising of recruits. The enemy destroyed eighteen dwelling-houses, one thousand seven hundred tents, two thousand bushels of grain, and one thousand six hundred barrels of provisions. The next morning they returned through Ridgefield, where they set fire to a number of houses. On the road from Danbury they were attacked in their rear by Major-General Wooster, at the head of three hundred militia, with great spirit and resolution. Wooster, however, was soon mortally wounded, fighting bravely at the head of his troops. Arnold joined General Silliman, who had collected about five hundred militia, and proceeded to Ridgefield, in front of the British. Here they threw up a barricado across the road, on a piece of high ground. A smart skirmish was maintained for an hour, when the Americans were obliged to give way. Arnold's horse, being shot, fell directly under him. Perceiving a British soldier advancing to kill him with a bayonet, he coolly kept his saddle, drew a pistol, shot the soldier, and then retired.

The British continued at Ridgefield through that night. The next morning, as they were proceeding towards Compo, Arnold, having increased his numbers to about one thousand men, and obtained some field-pieces, fell upon them again,

and skirmished with them, as the circumstances would permit. When the British reached Compo, they were hard pressed by the Americans; and probably would not have escaped from complete destruction, but by the following expedient, said to have been proposed by Sir William Erskine:—They landed a body of marines, and moving them into the van of their army, charged the Americans with so much vigour, that they were driven from the ground. The British then embarked in their boats with the utmost expedition, and reached their ships in safety: but so fatigued with their march, that many of the soldiers fell, it was said, upon the decks of the vessels, and there lay for a considerable time immoveable and torpid. The Americans, also, were most of them exceedingly weary. The marines, being fresh, took the place of their exhausted countrymen, and were an overmatch for the fatigued Americans. The loss of the Americans was estimated by them at one hundred killed, wounded, and missing. Among these, besides General Wooster, were two field officers*. The loss of the British, as estimated by themselves, was one hundred and seventy.

General Wooster was born at Stratford, in 1711, and was educated at Yale college, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1738. He entered upon a military life in 1739, during the war with Spain, and rose to the command of a regiment in the war with France, which began in 1755. In the expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, he commanded the Connecticut sloop of war; and in all the several commands which were given to him sustained a very fair and honourable character. At the commencement of the revolutionary war, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the American army. By the promotions which afterwards took place, he considered himself as injured, and sent in his resignation. Upon this he was made the first major-general of the Connecticut militia. He was distinguished for all the public and private virtues; was for many years a professor of Christianity, and adorned the religion which he professed. He married Mary, daughter of President Clap; a lady, of whom it may be said without exaggeration, that she has rarely

* One of them, Lieutenant-Colonel Gould, of Fairfield,

been excelled by any of her sex, in vigour of mind, excellence of disposition, or exemplariness of life.

A monument was voted to General Wooster by congress, but has never been erected.

General Silliman was a distinguished lawyer in this town. He was the son of the Honourable Ebenezer Silliman, many years a councillor, and judge of the superior court, in the colony of Connecticut. Both the father and the son were educated at Yale college, and sustained honourable characters through life. The activity and influence of General Silliman, in the revolutionary war, exposed him of course to the resentment of the British. His house was within little more than a mile from the shore, and the safest access to it was perfectly known to the refugees. In the month of May, 1779, a small part of the enemy attacked his house, took him prisoner, and conveyed him to Long-Island, and thence to New-York *.

* In 1799 Major-General Silliman was appointed, by the governor and council of safety, superintendant of the coast of the county of Fairfield. In the month of May, Sir Henry Clinton directed a small company of refugees to cross the Sound in a whale boat from Lloyd's Neck, and if possible to take him a prisoner. One of them was an inhabitant of Newtown, named Glover, a carpenter, who had been employed by General Silliman not long before; and, having been some time at the house, was perfectly acquainted with the safest and easiest modes of access to it. The crew consisted of nine. One was left in the boat. Eight came to the house about midnight. The family were awaked by a violent assault upon the door. General Silliman sprang out of bed, seized a musket, and ran to the door. As he passed by the window he saw the men, and at once comprehended their design. He then attempted to fire his musket, but it only flashed. At that instant the assailants broke through the window, and laid their hands upon him, exclaiming that he was their prisoner, and that he must go with them. At his request they permitted him to dress himself, and having plundered him of a fusee, a pair of pistols, a sword, and some other articles of no great value, proceeded with expedition to the shore. They reached it about two o'clock, and immediately embarked for Long-Island. As they approached the shore of Lloyd's Neck, Colonel Simcoe, the commanding officer, who was waiting for them, exclaimed, "Have you got him"? They answered, "Yes." "Have you lost any men?" "No." "That is well; your Sillimans are not worth a man, nor your Washingtons." General Silliman's eldest son was taken with him. The prisoners were ordered to the guard-house. The general asked the adjutant, whether this was the manner they treated prisoners of his rank? The adjutant replied,

"Immediately east of Green's Farms lies the parish of Fairfield, extending on the Sound about four miles to Stratford

"We do not consider you in the same light as we should a continental general." "How," said General Silliman, "will you view me when an exchange shall be proposed?", "I understand you," said the adjutant, and withdrew. These questions probably preserved General Silliman from the indignity of being confined in a guard-house. Soon after, he and his son were conducted in a carriage to New-York, under an escort of dragoons. On his arrival, a numerous body of people gathered to see him. A gentleman, who was a friend to him, advised him to withdraw, lest he should be insulted, and very kindly conducted him to good lodgings. Here he remained for some time, and was at length ordered to Flatbush.

At that time there was no prisoner in the possession of the Americans, whom the British would accept in exchange for General Silliman; and after some consideration, it was determined to procure one. The person pitched upon was the Honourable Mr. Jones, one of the justices of the supreme court of the province of New-York. Captain Daniel Hawley, of Newfield (now Bridgeport), undertook to accomplish the design. Having selected a proper crew, he proceeded in a whale boat to Long-Island, and having landed his men, concealed his boat in some bushes near the shore. Of the place where they landed I am ignorant, but it is said to have been at least fifty miles from the place of their destination.

The house of Judge Jones stood, and probably now stands, on the north side of Hempstead plain, in a solitude rather pleasant, and certainly very favourable to their enterprise. The Americans arrived about nine o'clock in the evening. There was a ball in the house, and the noise of music and dancing prevented the approach of the adventurers from being heard.

Captain Hawley knocked at the door, and perceiving that nobody heard him, forced it, and found Judge Jones standing in the entry. He instantly told him he was his prisoner, and immediately conducted him off, together with a young gentleman, whose name was Hewlett. A guard of soldiers was posted at a small distance from their road. When they came near the spot, Judge Jones hemmed very loud, and was forbidden by Captain Hawley to repeat the sound. He however did repeat it; but being told by his conductor, that another repetition would be followed by fatal consequences, he desisted.

On their way they were obliged to lodge in a forest through the day. The third night they reached their boat, and proceeded immediately to Newfield.

Mrs. Silliman, hearing of Judge Jones's arrival, sent him an invitation to breakfast. He came. During several days, while he was at her house, she took all the measures in her power to make his situation agreeable. But although few ladies could contribute more effectually to such a purpose, the judge was distant, reserved, and sullen. From this place he was ordered to Middletown.

It was a long time before the British would consent to an exchange; but

The plain on which the town is built is probably inferior in fertility and beauty to few lands in the state.

The centre of Greenfield is about four miles from the Sound, and the southern boundary about two miles and a half. This is one of the smallest parishes in Connecticut; and for a tract, distributed wholly into farms, exclusive of a little village around the church, consisting of fifteen houses, is one of the most populous. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants was 1,499, living on fourteen or fifteen square miles. This fact will sufficiently explain the goodness of the soil. The scenery here also is delightful.

The parish of Fairfield contains three villages: the town; a village at the mouth of Mill river, about a mile and a half south-west; and another a mile eastward, at the harbour of Black-Rock.

The town of Fairfield contains about one hundred houses, built principally along the great road, and round a handsome square in the centre, on which stand the Presbyterian church, the court-house, and the gaol. The houses are generally good, and in two or three instances rise above this character. The inhabitants are moderately industrious, possess good manners, are friendly and hospitable, and are generally sober, orderly, and firm supporters of good government.

There is an academy in this town, which is in good reputation. There is also another in Greenfield, and another in Green's Farms, characterised in the school law, heretofore recited, as a parochial school of the higher order.

Fairfield is the shire town of this county. Half of the courts, however, sit at Danbury, a considerable town at the distance of about twenty miles in the interior. Fairfield is also the port of entry for the whole coast of Connecticut, on the western side of the Hooestennuc. The commerce of this

in the month of May, 1780, they agreed, that if one Washburn, a refugee of a notoriously bad character, could be included in the exchange, as a kind of make-weight, they would release General Silliman for Judge Jones, and his son for Mr. Hewlett. The vessel, which conveyed him, met another employed to transport General Silliman to his own house on the Sound. The two gentlemen having dined together, proceeded immediately to the respective places of their destination. The general's return was welcomed with demonstrations of joy by all the surrounding country.

county is almost entirely carried on with New-York and Boston. The coasting trade is of considerable importance, while that which is foreign is comparatively small.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected on imports in this town:—

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 25,074
1802	17,905
1803	17,263
1804	19,037
1805	23,164
1806	29,638
1807	20,661
1808	1,810
1809	1,559
1810	6,229

Two miles west of the court house is the Pequod swamp, where the remains of that nation were finally destroyed or taken prisoners. The present road passes through it.

The Rev. Noah Hobart, formerly minister of this town, possessed high intellectual and moral distinction. He had a mind of great acuteness and discernment, was a laborious student, was extensively learned, especially in history and theology; adorned the doctrine which he professed by an exemplary life, and was holden in high veneration for his wisdom and virtue. Among the American writers of the last century, not one has, I believe, handled the subject of Presbyterian ordination with more ability or success.

Mr. Hobart was educated at Harvard college, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1724. About ten years after, he was ordained over this church and congregation. He died, December 6th, 1773, a peaceful and happy death, in the 68th year of his age, and the 41st of his ministry. His manners were grave and dignified, and yet very pleasing and gentlemanly, and, in whatever company he was, few hesitated to acknowledge him the first person present. He left one son, who has been already mentioned, the Honourable John Sloss Hobart, of New-York, one of the judges of the supreme court in that state, then a senator of the United States, and

afterwards district judge of the district of New-York, a very respectable and worthy man.

On the 7th of July, 1779, Governor Tryon, with the army which I have already mentioned, sailed from New-Haven to Fairfield, and the next morning disembarked upon the beach. A few militia assembled to oppose them, and in a desultory, scattered manner, fought with great intrepidity through most of the day. They killed some, took several prisoners, and wounded more. But the expedition was so sudden and unexpected, that the efforts made in this manner were necessarily fruitless. The town was plundered, a great part of the houses, together with the two churches, the court-house, gaol, and school-houses, were burnt. The barns had been just filled with wheat and other produce. The inhabitants, therefore, were turned out into the world almost literally destitute.

Mrs. Burr, the wife of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., high-sheriff of the county, resolved to continue in the mansion-house of the family, and make an attempt to save it from the conflagration. The house stood at a sufficient distance from other buildings. Mrs. Burr was adorned with all the qualities which give distinction to her sex, possessed fine accomplishments, and a dignity of character scarcely rivalled, and probably had never known what it was to be treated with disrespect, or even with inattention. She made a personal application to Governor Tryon, in terms, which, from a lady of her high respectability, could hardly have failed of a satisfactory answer, from any person, who claimed the title of a gentleman. The answer which she actually received was however rude and brutal, and spoke the want, not only of politeness and humanity, but even of vulgar civility. The house was sentenced to the flames, and was speedily set on fire. An attempt was made, in the mean time, by some of the soldiery, to rob her of a valuable watch, with rich furniture, for Governor Tryon refused to protect her, as well as to preserve the house. The watch had been already conveyed out of their reach, but the house, filled with every thing which contributes either to comfort or elegance of living, was laid in ashes.

While the town was in flames, a thunder-storm overspread the heavens just as night came on. The conflagration of heat

two hundred houses, illumined the earth, the skirts of the clouds, and the waves of the Sound, with an union of gloom and grandeur at once inexpressibly awful and magnificent. The sky speedily was hung with the deepest darkness, wherever the clouds were not tinged by the melancholy lustre of the flames. At intervals the lightnings blazed with a livid and terrible splendour. The thunder rolled above. Beneath, the roaring of the fires filled up the intervals with a deep and hollow sound, which seemed to be the protracted murmur of the thunder, reverberated from one end of heaven to the other. Add to this convulsion of the elements, and these dreadful effects of vindictive and wanton devastation, the trembling of the earth, the sharp sound of muskets, occasionally discharged; the groans here and there of the wounded and dying, and the shouts of triumph; then place before your eyes crowds of the miserable sufferers, mingled with bodies of the militia, and from the neighbouring hills taking a farewell prospect of their property and their dwellings, their happiness and their hopes; and you will form a just, but imperfect picture of the burning of Fairfield. It needed no great effort of imagination to believe that the final day had arrived, and that, amid this funeral darkness, the morning would speedily dawn to which no night would ever succeed; the graves yield up their inhabitants; and the trial commence, at which was to be finally settled the destiny of man.

The apology made by Governor Tryon for this Indian effort was conveyed in the following sentence:—"The village was burnt to resent the fire of the rebels from their houses, and to mask our retreat." This declaration unequivocally proves, that the rebels were troublesome to their invaders, and at the same time is to be considered as the best apology which they were able to make. But it contains a palpable falsehood, intended to justify conduct which admits of no excuse, and rejects with disdain every attempt at palliation. Why did this body of men land at Fairfield at all? There were here no stores, no fortress, no enemy, except such as were to be found in every village throughout the United States. It was undoubtedly the original object of the expedition to set fire to this town, and the apology was created after the work was done. It was perfectly unnecessary to mask the retreat. The

townsmen, and the little collection of farmers assembled to aid them, had no power to disturb it. No British officer, no British soldier would confess, that in these circumstances he felt the least anxiety concerning any molestation from such opposers.

The injuries done to a single family were an immense overbalance for all the good acquired in this expedition, either by the individuals engaged in it, or the nation in whose service they acted. Particularly that highly respectable pair, Mr. and Mrs. Burr, in the loss of the mansion of their ancestors, and the treasures with which it had been stored through a long succession of years—where the elegant hospitality which had reigned in it, the refined enjoyments which were daily felt, and daily distributed to the friend and the stranger; the works of charity, which were there multiplied; and the rational piety, which was at once the animating and controlling principle, diffused a brilliancy marked even by the passing eye—lost more than the whole British nation gained by this devastation.

The next morning the troops re-embarked, and, proceeding to Green's Farms, set fire to the church and consumed it, together with fifteen dwelling-houses, eleven barns, and several stores. Among the houses was that of the Rev. Dr. Ripley, the respectable clergyman of this parish. Here, also, was another proof, that burning was the object of the expedition. The number of dwelling-houses consumed in Fairfield was eighty-five; of barns, fifty-five; of stores, fifteen; of shops, fifteen, &c. &c.

The question has often been asked, "Why do so many of the Americans entertain such hostile feelings towards Great Britain?" One answer to this question will be found in the scenes which I have described. Let us admit, that an enemy may be justified, even in burning a town, when the strength of his foe will be materially lessened by the conflagration, his resolution broken, his hostility essentially diminished, and the prospect of bringing the controversy to a speedy termination in an important degree increased. Here neither of these objects was achieved. The strength of the Americans remained entire, and their animosity was more intense. Nothing was done but mischief, and nothing was probably aimed at but the gratification of ill-nature. The name of Tryon is here that of

an incendiary, and will go down to succeeding generations with unmingled infamy.

Near the eastern limit of this township is the harbour of Black-Rock, its shores ornamented with a small, but neat village. This, next to that of New-London, is the best harbour in the state. The land, by which it is enclosed, is perhaps unrivalled in its beauty. A more elegant piece of ground than Grover's-hill can scarcely be conceived. But, notwithstanding the excellence of the harbour, and the conveniences which it furnishes for commerce, the place has been long neglected. Business is now commencing in it with a fair promise of success.

In the year 1756, Fairfield contained 4,455 inhabitants; blacks, 260. In 1774, it contained 4,863; Indians, 4; blacks, 315. Both these enumerations included the township of Weston, afterwards taken from Fairfield. In 1790, the number of inhabitants in Fairfield was 4,009; in Weston, 2,469. In 1800, the number of inhabitants was 3,735 in Fairfield; in Weston, 2,680. In 1810, Fairfield contained 4,125; and Weston, 2,618.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Stratford. Bridgeport. Rev. Dr. Johnson. County of Fairfield. Its Boundaries, Surface, Soil, Divisions, Healthfulness, &c. Milford. Rev. Samuel Andrew. Milford Marble. Long-Island Sound. Hellgate, or Hurlgate.

DEAR SIR;

STRATFORD borders upon Fairfield eastward. The surface, though less beautiful than that of Fairfield, is yet very pleasing to the eye of a traveller. A plain extends along the Sound, from its western boundary to the Hooestennuc, about six miles. This plain is a handsome piece of ground, bordered on the north by several hills. The soil also is of an excellent quality.

Stratford contains two parishes, Stratford and Stratfield; four villages, the Town, the borough of Bridgeport, the Old Mill, and Pughquonnuck; and four congregations, two Episcopal and two Presbyterian. Two of these congregations are in Stratford, the other two in Stratfield, which includes Bridgeport.

Stratford was originally known by the Indian name of Cupheag. It was purchased in 1639 by Mr. Fairchild, the principal planter, and settlements were begun the same year. The Indians in this sale reserved several valuable tracts for their own cultivation, but both the title and the proprietors are now, I believe, extinct.

Stratfield, the western parish, is extremely pleasant. There is not in the state a prettier village than the borough of Bridgeport. In the year 1783, there were scarcely half a dozen houses in this place. It now contains probably more than one hundred, built on both sides of Pughquonnuck river, a beautiful mill-stream, forming at its mouth the harbour of Bridgeport.

The situation of this village is very handsome, particularly on the eastern side of the river. A more cheerful and elegant piece of ground can scarcely be imagined than the point which stretches between the Pughquonnuck and the Old-mill brook; and the prospects presented by the harbours at the mouths of these streams, the Sound, and the surrounding country, are in a fine season gay and brilliant, perhaps without a parallel. The style of building adopted here is also unusually happy. None of the houses are large or splendid, but almost all of them, together with their appendages, leave upon the mind an impression of neatness and cheerfulness not often found elsewhere.

There are two churches in this village, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian, both respectable buildings, appearing like twins on the opposite sides of a small green. The Episcopal church in Fairfield is a plurality belonging to this cure.

There is a Baptist church, built in the rear of this parish, within the limits of Fairfield, the congregation of which is collected out of several townships, whose corners are near this spot.

The two parts of Bridgeport are connected by a bridge, ninety rods in length, which crosses the Pughquonnuck in the centre of the village, and was the origin of its name.

The inhabitants are almost all merchants and mechanics. Their commerce is principally carried on coastwise. For several years there was an academy here, but it is now discontinued. Scarcely any situation is more distinguished for health. The number of inhabitants is between six and seven hundred.

Stratford is a considerable town, containing, as I should judge, more than one hundred and fifty houses, and is better built than either of the preceding towns. The principal street is a mile in length, running parallel with the Hooestennuc, straight and wide. It contains also two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The inhabitants have long been agitated by religious and political controversies. The usual effects, as well as causes, have existed here in their full extent. To detail them would be an invidious task.

The people of Stratford are excellent farmers, and their

elds, in tolerable seasons, exhibit crops, which are rarely exceeded in this country.

The Rev. Dr. Johnson, the first Episcopal minister in this own, was a man of distinguished reputation, and may be considered as the father of Episcopacy in Connecticut, and perhaps s the most distinguished clergyman of that description, who as been settled within its limits. This gentleman was born at uilford, in 1696, was educated at Yale college, and received he degree of A. B. in 1714. In 1716, he was chosen tutor, nd continued in that office three years. In 1720, he was rdained minister of the Presbyterian church in West-Haven. n 1723, he was episcopally ordained at London, and was afterwards settled at Stratford. In 1754, he was chosen president of King's college, in the city of New-York, and continued in this office nine years. In 1763, he resigned the presidency, and, returning to Stratford, resumed the charge of his congregation. He died in 1772, at the age of seventy-six.

Dr. Johnson was a man of talents and learning, of dignified manners, and high reputation. He published a Hebrew grammar, a compendium of logic, and another of ethics. The university of Oxford conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity. His life was written by Dr. Chandler, the Episcopal minister of Elizabethtown.

At Stratford also still lives the Honourable William Samuel Johnson*, the son of this gentleman, and one of the most respectable men of whom this country can boast.

In the year 1756, Stratford contained 3,658 inhabitants, blacks 150; in 1774, 5,555, Indians 35, blacks 319. It then included the townships of Huntington and Trumbull. In 1790, Stratford, including Trumbull, contained 3,241, and Huntington 2,742. In 1800, the number in Stratford was 2,950; in Huntington, 2,792; and, in Trumbull, 1,291. In 1810, the inhabitants of Stratford amounted to 2,895; in Huntington, to 2,770; and, in Trumbull, to 1,241.

I will conclude this Letter by some general remarks on the county of Fairfield.

This county is bounded on the west by New-York, on the

* This gentleman died in the year 1819.—*Pub.*

south by the Sound, and on the north-east, except a small distance, by Hooestennuc river. Its figure approaches towards a triangle, but with many irregularities. Its utmost length from north to south is between forty and fifty miles, and its utmost breadth from east to west about thirty.

The surface is very various. The part which borders on the Sound has been already described. The interior is generally hilly, and in many places rough. There are mines of iron in Weston, and there is a steel mine in Ridgefield. In Fairfield, also, an ore has been discovered of an uncommon appearance. Large spots on the surfaces of the fragments into which it is broken are perfectly smooth, and to the eye are in a reguline state, with the colour and the lustre of tin. This ore is said to contain copper. The person by whom it was discovered has hitherto refused to point out the place to the public, or confide the knowledge of it to any individual. Hence the ore has not been assayed.

This county abounds both in granite and limestone. The former is the common grey granite of New-England, but abounding in mica more than in most other places. The latter is white, and yields excellent lime. There are also stones of various other kinds, particularly soap-stone in the township of Stamford, and rock crystals in that of New-Fairfield.

The forests are oak, hickory, &c. The single or swamp spruce also grows here, and in a few instances pine.

This county abounds in springs, brooks, and mill-streams. There are eleven streams of the last class, which discharge their waters into the Sound between the state of New-York and the Hooestennuc. Mill-seats of the most convenient forms are very numerous.

The soil is better than that of any other in the state, being generally rich, and producing every thing which the climate will permit. The pastures and meadows are fine, and the crops of grain are abundant. A few years since, more flax was raised here than in the whole of New-England beside. Thaddeus Burr, Esq., whom I mentioned above, informed me, that for ten years, in which he was naval officer at Fairfield, there were sent out of that township, at an average, twenty thousand bushels of flax-seed in a year; that the least quantity shipped in any one year was seventeen thousand, and the

greatest twenty-five thousand. I have seen twenty acres of flax in a single field in the parish of Greenfield. A field of five acres produced thirty-five hundred weight, and a field of wheat yielded forty bushels an acre.

This county is divided into seventeen townships. The most considerable town in it is Danbury. It is distributed also into twenty-eight parishes, containing twenty-eight Presbyterian congregations, fifteen Episcopal, eight Baptist, one Sandemanian, and one Universalist. Of the Episcopal congregations seven are pluralities. Religion, though at certain times, and in certain places, vigorous, has prospered less from the beginning in this county than in several others.

It contains two associational districts. The churches in the western district have adhered with more strictness to the scheme of discipline established at Saybrook than those of any other, and have accordingly experienced fewer embarrassments in this difficult branch of evangelical duty. There has for many years been an union of firmness and catholicism in the ministers of this district not often seen. It is to be hoped that it will long endure.

Few parts of the world are more healthy. In my own congregation at Greenfield, consisting of one thousand persons, during one year not a single person died; and during another year only two, and one of these an accidental death. Upon the whole, there is not a more delightful spot of ground than the coast of this county. The surface is handsome, the soil fertile, the productions various and excellent, the air salubrious, while the waters furnish fish in abundance, and present every convenience for marketing. At the same time, many of the inhabitants are highly respectable for their intelligence and their worth. They labour under one inconvenience. Their ground is so rich, and so capable of easy cultivation, that the inhabitants have cleared it too extensively, and rendered wood for fuel scarce and dear. Peat exists in abundance, but custom has not yet reconciled many of the people to the use of it, and coal hitherto has not in any considerable quantities been discovered in New-England.

The Housatonnuc is crossed at Stratford on Washington bridge. The ferry, formerly used here, was attended with many, and those very great inconveniences. The Sound, to

which it opens on the south, often rolled in a heavy swell. The north-west wind, when it coincided with the tide, forced the boats far down the stream. The ice was sometimes frozen only across a part of it, sometimes was too thin to be safe, and sometimes ran in the stream with such violence, and in such quantities, as to render the crossing both uncomfortable and hazardous. A bridge was nowhere in the United States demanded by the wishes of the inhabitants so extensively as at this place. At length a very bad one was erected, and in February, 1807, it was swept away by a violent freshet. A better one, after many delays and difficulties, was built, and is still standing. It is not handsome, but well contrived for the purpose; and, were proper ice-breakers formed in the stream above, would probably continue many years.

The township of Milford commences on the eastern side of Hooestennuc. The coast is pleasant and fertile. The interior is undulating, but not very pleasant. The soil throughout a considerable part is rich and productive, but much of it is cold and sterile.

Milford, named by the Indians Wopowage, was purchased by the Rev. Peter Prudden and others, principally from Wethersfield, in 1639. Forty-four planters settled themselves here immediately; but they found the Indians so numerous, that they surrounded the town plat, nearly a mile square, with a strong palisado.

Milford contains two parishes, and four congregations; three Presbyterian and one Episcopal. The last consists only of a few families. Each of these congregations has its church. Of North Milford I have already given an account. The other parish contains three congregations.

The town is built with an irregularity, which seems absolute. The houses are numerous, but generally indifferent. Two of the streets are moderately pleasant, but the whole appearance is uninviting.

The inhabitants of this town retain, beyond those of most other places, the ancient, plain, New-England character. There is to a considerable extent an union among them of simplicity, sobriety, industry, frugality, the love of good order, and attachment to the ordinances of religion. If they were to add to these commendable characteristics a general spirit

of liberality, and a general love of improvement, it would be well.

The Rev. Samuel Andrew of this town was the second president, or, as that officer was then called, rector of Yale college. He was chosen *pro tempore* in the year 1707, and continued in office till the year 1719. He did not, however, remove to Saybrook, where the college was first placed, nor to New-Haven, whither it was removed in 1717. But, though he resided at Milford, and performed the duties of the ministerial office, yet from time to time he visited the college, presided at commencements, and superintended the government of the students. He is still remembered here, and in the surrounding country, as an able and excellent divine.

In the eastern part of this township begins a range of marble quarries, extending a considerable, though hitherto undefined, distance into the interior. They have been traced as much as four or five miles. The colours of this beautiful stone are black, or at times a very deep blue, white, green, and yellow. All these colours are strong and vivid. The variegations, which it everywhere presents, are diversified beyond any thing, which I have seen: yet we have several hundred specimens of different European marbles in the mineralogical cabinet of Yale college. Nor are the variegations only diversified. They are alternately strong and delicate, and in both cases remarkably rich. Nothing equally beautiful, or equally fine in its texture, has been discovered in this country. Its existence was brought to light, after having been travelled over, as it lay in masses, and made into walls, to enclose the fields in which it was imbedded, for more than a century, by Mr. Solomon Baldwin, a member of the senior class in Yale college, in an excursion adopted in that seminary as an exercise for the students in mineralogy. This gentleman procured a lease of an extensive range of this elegant stone, and of a mill in the neighbourhood, at which it is now sawn, ground, and polished. Its distance from navigable water is less than two hundred yards. The quantity is apparently inexhaustible.

Lead ore, extremely rich, has been found in this township, but hitherto in small quantities.

In the year 1756, Milford contained 1,633 inhabitants; in

1774, 2,127, blacks, 162; in 1790, 2,098; in 1800, 2,427; and, in 1810, 2,674.

I will conclude this Letter with an account of Long-Island Sound; the southern boundary of a part of the state of New-York, and of the state of Connecticut; on the margin of which lay the last great division of the journey just recited.

This arm of the ocean is one hundred and forty miles in length, from Oyster-pond point on the east to the western limit of New-Utrecht on the west, and from half a mile to twenty-five miles in breadth. The narrowest part is near Hell-gate, and the widest at New-Haven. At Rye it is about nine miles in breadth, at Stamford twelve, at Stratford eighteen, at Saybrook and Lyme fourteen or fifteen. At the head of New-Haven harbour, the distance is twenty-nine.

The shores on both sides of this fine piece of water are indented with many harbours. Of these, that of New-London on the northern, and that of Huntington on the southern side are the most considerable. In each of them the largest fleets may anchor with perfect security from every wind. Every township on either shore has one or more harbours, sufficiently capacious and convenient for the commerce which it will ever be able to carry on.

The navigation of the Sound is very safe, compared with that along a coast entirely open to the ocean. Yet at times it is dangerous. In the winter, when the weather is so severe as to shut the harbours, the double shore at times increases the hazard; and instances have occurred, though they have been rare, in which vessels have been lost, and their crews have perished. Several reefs run out some distance from the shore, and sometimes take up vessels, ignorant of the navigation, as do also a few solitary shoals and rocks, hidden beneath the surface. Of the latter, the Executioners, over against Cow-neck on Long-Island, and Mamaroneck on the Nain, and the Stepping Stones against Great-neck, and Pelham (both necks in North-Hempstead), are the most remarkable.

In the mild season there is perhaps no voyage in any part of the world pleasanter than that, which is taken on the Sound, especially when the course is directed near the shore of the main. No expanse of water can be handsomer, or bounded

by more beautiful shores. The various points, successively stretching into its bosom, with the intervening indents; the villages which succeed each other at small distances, with their white spires seen over the tops of the trees, or rising in open view; the rich fields, which everywhere form the margin; the hills elegantly ascending as the eye advances into the interior, covered with farms, and crowned with groves; and the multitude of vessels skimming the surface in every direction; combine in their succession as many varieties of beauty, serenity, and cheerfulness, as can easily be united within the same limits.

The Sound is replenished with a great variety of very fine fish. Among the finny tribes may be reckoned the cod, the striped and sea bass, the tuttaug or black fish, the sheep's-head, the blue fish, the frost fish, the white perch, the plaice, the flounder, and many others. Of shell-fish, there are lobsters, crabs, oysters, clams, muscles, escallops, &c.

Below Throgmorton's point, the Sound becomes narrow very suddenly. Thence to New-York a succession of handsome villas is seen at little distances on both shores. A more sprightly series of objects can hardly be imagined, when viewed in connection with their appendages.

Hell-gate, supposed to have been originally called Hurl-gate, or the Whirling-gap or passage, has been an object of too much public notice to be omitted here without impropriety. Formerly it was rarely mentioned, but in terms of exaggeration and terror. In later times, however, it has been found to be almost harmless.

This passage lies about eight miles from New-York, between the islands of Manhattan and Parsell on the north-west, and Long-Island on the south-east. Haerlem river discharges its waters into the Sound between the two former islands. The bottom is here formed, at least to a considerable extent, by large rocks of granite, some of which are visible. The whirling of the waters at this passage is probably occasioned by three causes. 1st, The position of the rock; 2dly, The sudden bend of the Sound at this place; and 3dly, The influx of the tide into Haerlem river, and its efflux. The agitation of the water at half flood, and half ebb, is sufficient to alarm almost any mind, not thoroughly familiarized to the

navigation of this place, but about high and low water they are very little disturbed. At the proper times, with a good wind, and a good pilot, vessels pass here without danger. Without these advantages, they are sometimes thrown upon the rocks on upon the shore. I know not that Hell-gate has in any instance proved fatal to human life. Cargoes have sometimes been damaged, and sometimes lost. Frigates have several times gone safely through this passage.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

State of New-York. Its Boundaries. Mountains, Rivers and Agriculture. Iron Ore and Marble. Gypsum. Inhabitants, whence derived. New-England Settlers, their Character. Irish, German, and Scotch Colonists. French Protestants.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of New-York, including its uplands, is situated between 39° 45′ and 45° north latitude, and between 71° 50′ 45″ and 79° 47′ 45″ west longitude from Greenwich. Its greatest length, which is on the parallel of 42° is 316 miles, its greatest breadth is 304. In these measures Long-Island and Staten-Island are not included. It is bounded on the east by the western limit of New-England, formerly described, on the north by the 45th degree of latitude, from Lake Champlain to the river St. Lawrence; thence on the north-west and west by a line passing up the middle of that river, and through the middle of Lake Ontario, to the mouth of the river Niagara; thence up the middle of that river to Lake Erie, thence through the middle of Lake Erie to a line, which is the continuance of the eastern limit of that part of Pennsylvania which borders upon Lake Erie; thence by this limit till it crosses the 42d degree of north latitude; thence on the south by this degree, which is the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, until it strikes the river Delaware; thence by this river till it reaches the north-western corner of New-Jersey, at the great eastern bend of the Delaware; and thence by a south-eastern line, which separates New-Jersey from the counties of Orange and Rockland, to the Hudson.

The state of New-York, including one half of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, and the waters of Lakes Ontario

and Erie, which belong to it, forms an area of 46,086 square miles, or 29,495,040 acres.

The principal mountains in this state are, 1st, The Highlands, a continuation of the Shawangunk, themselves a continuation of the Blue ridge of Pennsylvania. These cross the state in a north-east direction, and unite with the Taghkannuc range. 2d, The Kaatskill mountains, which, ascending from the south-west, approach, in the counties of Ulster and Greene, within about ten miles of the Hudson, and then bend in the form of a crescent to the north-west towards the Mohawk. 3dly, West of these is a collection of rude eminences, already described, spreading from the north boundary of Philadelphia, twenty, thirty, and sometimes perhaps forty miles into New-York. These are the north-eastern terminations of the Alleghany range, and of those parallel ranges which run through a considerable part of the United States, eastward of this principal one; and subside into a plain country about the middle of the breadth of New-York, between Pennsylvania and Lake Ontario.

From the western side of Lake George commences a range, and from the eastern another, which, passing onward to Canada, are united with a third, and together are called the Peruvian mountains. Of the southern commencement of the third range I am ignorant. From Burlington, as I have elsewhere observed, it is visible to a considerable extent, and rises westward of the other two.

The Taghkannuc range runs from the Sound along the eastern border of this state, until it enters the county of Rensselaer; whence it passes through the county of Washington, and enters Vermont at Fairhaven.

The Peruvian mountains received this name, because they were supposed to contain mines of considerable value.

The rivers in this state, beside those which have been already mentioned, are the Black river, Oswegatchie, Racket, Chazy, Tioga, and Saranac; together with many others of no other consequence than as mill-streams. The Alleghany, one of the two principal head-waters of the Ohio, has its rise in the county of that name.

There are many small lakes in this state, which I have not noticed, particularly in the country north of the Mohawk.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to the observations which have already been made concerning the climate, or to say any thing further concerning the soil, except that, taken together, it is inferior to that of no state on the Atlantic side of the Union.

The agriculture is very various. The Dutch farmers extensively follow that of their ancestors. The New-England colonists and their descendants pursue that of New-England; German, Scotch, and Irish settlers, vary from both and from each other. Several intelligent men in different parts of the state have improved the agriculture around them. The county of Dutchess is one of the best cultivated tracts in the United States.

Horticulture is little regarded by most of the original inhabitants: but the gardens of the gentlemen are not excelled in this country. The market of New-York is well furnished with vegetables, and, lately, that of Albany.

Wheat is the principal product, after that grass, and after that maize. Fruits of all kinds, suited to the climate, flourish in the southern half of the state, and many in the northern. Peaches abound in most of the counties south and west of Albany. In several parts of the western country nectarines and apricots prosper, the insects, which attack them in the older settlements, not having extended their ravages so far.

New-York abounds in iron ore. In the Peruvian mountains other ores have been discovered, but they have hitherto been very imperfectly examined. Most of the mountains are said to be granitic, but the predominating character of the country is calcareous. Slate abounds, marble has been discovered in several places, and at Amenia, on the eastern border of Dutchess county, a quarry has been for some time extensively wrought. The colour is white, blended with blue, so as to be of a cloudy and delicate appearance. The texture is moderately fine, but in some degree flaky.

Many parts of this state exhibit strong proofs of the deluge. Marine shells, of various kinds, are found in many places, both mineralized and in their native condition.

Gypsum abounds at the head of the Cayuga lake, in the township of Camillus, in the county of Onondaga, and in several other places. The remarkable sulphur springs in the township

of Phelps, denominated the Clifton sulphur springs, have been mentioned in a former part of these Letters. Many other minerals are found; among them are mentioned lead, zinc and copper. But they are too imperfectly known to merit public attention.

There are no native forest-trees, which are not found in New-England, except the cucumber tree and the black walnut. The former of these I have never seen. The black walnut grows in New-England in the most thrifty manner, but is not, I believe, indigenous.

The inhabitants of the state of New-York, like those of the city, are derived from many countries. At least three-fifths of them are of New-England origin, and the number of these is rapidly increasing. The next largest class consists of the descendants of the original Dutch planters. After these are the Scotch, Irish, German, English, and French colonists, and their progeny. As I before observed, it is impossible to ascribe to these numerous classes a common character.

Those who have immigrated from New-England retain extensively, and many of them absolutely, their original character. When considered *en masse*, they exhibit such varieties as would be naturally expected from the account which I have given concerning the early settlers of a forested country, connected with that of the New-England people. They are ardent, enterprising, resolute, patient, active, industrious, and persevering. Many of them are sober, orderly, moral, and friends of learning and good government. Many of them are intelligent, ingenious, acute, versatile, ready when disappointed in one kind of business to slide into another, and fitted to conduct the second, or even a third or fourth, with much the same facility and success as if they had been bred to nothing else. A considerable number in the whole, and some in almost every settlement, however small, are pious. Others, amounting to a considerable number, are restless, fond of changing their places of residence to a sickly excess, uneasy in regular established society, clamorous about political measures, haunting places of public resort; talkative, especially on political subjects, negligent of their own business, and regardless of religion. These are the foresters, whom I have heretofore mentioned; the pioneers, who march in front of the army,

of substantial farmers, destined finally to colonize the country. Their number, which at the early periods of colonization is considerable, diminishes, of course, from two causes. One is, that a part of them are continually driven forward by the sober planters, who purchase their farms; the other is, that the remaining part become to a considerable degree such farmers themselves. Such as keep their place, and do not assume this character, dwindle ultimately into insignificance; and, when compelled by want and rags, labour for those who are able to supply their necessities.

You will easily suppose, that in this population must of course be included a proportional number of mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, physicians, and lawyers; and that among them there can hardly fail to be diffused a considerable number of persons well educated, and respectable for their intelligence and information.

The mass of this population forms at the present time a most important accession to the state of New-York; and is continually increasing, both in its numbers and value. Their energy is already felt in every part of the country. The efforts by which they have changed its vast forests into fruitful fields and gardens, are unparalleled, perhaps in the world. It is questionable whether mankind have ever seen so large a tract changed so suddenly from a wilderness into a well-inhabited and well-cultivated country, as that which extends on the great western road, from the German Flats to the Genesee river. Nor is it probable, that any such tract has assumed, within so short a time, an appearance equally beautiful. Before the year 1784, when Hugh White, the father of the New-England settlements in this region, removed his family from Middletown, and planted himself in Whitesborough, there was not a single spot cultivated by civilized man, between the German Flats and Lake Erie, except a solitary farm near the falls of Niagara, known by the name of the Stedman Farm. In the year 1810, this region contained 280,819 inhabitants; all planted in it within twenty-six years, and almost all within twenty-two. To a prodigious extent these people possess all the necessaries, almost all the comforts, most of the conveniences, and not a few of the luxuries of life. A great number of beautiful villages have risen up, as by the power of enchant-

ment; and the road for one hundred and twenty miles is in a sense lined by a succession of houses, almost universally neat, and frequently handsome. Throughout most of this extent an excellent soil, covered deep with vegetable mould, rewards every effort of the farmer with a luxuriant produce.

Throughout this extent, also, schools are established with a celerity delightful to the eye of benevolence; which cannot fail to foresee, in this propitious institution, the elevation, not of a few privileged individuals, but of the whole rising generation; the children of the poor, as well as of the rich; to intelligence and worth, the exaltation of man, and not of those merely by whom man is usually controlled.

To complete the picture, a numerous train of churches, and those often handsome buildings, are planted on the very ground devoted a little while since to the ravages of the scalping knife and the celebration of the powaw. Here religious assemblies are gathered, ministers are settled, and God is worshipped in the ordinances of his own appointment. Here men in great multitudes are prepared to become better inhabitants of this world, and formed for the happiness and the hopes of immortal existence. All these efforts are marked with industry and vigour; with an energy of mind, proceeding regularly and firmly from a state of society, rendered by its original circumstances necessarily imperfect, towards the utmost degree of improvement hitherto attained by civilized men.

It is impossible that such a spirit as this should not have efficacy wherever it is found, or that its effects should not be generally auspicious to the most valuable human interests. Where the greatest number of such men are assembled, its consequences will be suddenly and universally seen. In the region to which I have confined myself, they have burst upon the eye, and spread through a vast extent, with a rapidity, which leaves the spectator lost in astonishment. Where the numbers are small, the influence is of course less. Even here, however, it is often strongly visible, and the instances are not few, in which a single individual has diffused it happily over a considerable circle around him.

Nor is this efficacy perceivable only in the important concerns of mankind. It extends to those also which are of inferior magnitude, and to many which would elude every

expectation. It furnishes better mechanics and manufacturers, happier modes of directing human labour, and ingenious expedients, by which labour may be abridged. A New-England contractor formed a canal at Richmond, in Virginia. New-England contractors and labourers are by public advertisements invited, in form, to make important turnpike-roads and bridges in this and other states; and the proverbial inquiry of persons, travelling in this state, and those both natives and foreigners, is, "Where shall I find a New-England inn?"

The Irish colonists in this state differ from each other, as they did in their native country. Those who are descended from the English and Scotch are better informed, and therefore of a superior character. They are also generally habituated to a just sense of the importance of good order and good government; are usually industrious, sober, and possessed of apprehensions, not incorrect, of the nature and value of religion. This is particularly true of those who are descended from the Scotch. It will be easily believed, that persons of such a character must, of course, be extensively good subjects, and prosperous in their business. The western and southern Irish are often almost absolutely uneducated. This renders them liable to many impositions, and consequent misfortunes. They are also to an extensive degree hostile to the government under which they were born, and very naturally transfer some portion of that hostility to any other government under which they may live. So far as they know any thing concerning religion, they are generally Papists. From the dissocial nature of Popery, it can scarcely be supposed, that here, more than elsewhere, they should view Protestants with complacency. From their extreme ignorance, their apprehensions concerning moral obligation must be essentially defective; and this defectiveness must be increased by the doctrines taught in the Romish church concerning absolution, indulgences, and other licentious tenets, easily comprehensible even by men growing up in these unhappy circumstances. As they have been originally and only directed by others, it is hardly possible that they should direct themselves. With these things in view, it will follow of course, that in very many instances they must be bad managers, poor, and vicious.

The evils which I have specified are not, however, derived

the native character of these people. From what I have and heard, and particularly from my own observation, I persuaded that the native character of the Irish is inferior that of no other people. To me they appear not to be passed in native activity of mind, sprightliness, wit, good ure, generosity, affection, and gratitude. Their peculiar ects and vices, I am persuaded, are owing to the want of cation, or to a bad one. Give them the same advantages, ich are enjoyed by others, and they will stand upon a level h any of their neighbours.

The Scotch colonists preserve, unaltered, the character ich they brought with them. They are industrious, frugal, llerly, patient of hardship, persevering, attached to govern nt, reverential to religion, generally moral, and often pious. the same time they are frequently unwarrantably self-com acent, rigid in their dispositions, unbending in their opi ons, sequestered, avaricious, ready to unchurch those who ffer from them, and to say, "Doubtless we are the people." Most of them acquire property, and leave it to their children s a body, they are better citizens than any other class of migrants. Such as are well educated, and liberally disposed, re as agreeable neighbours and friends as are furnished by ny nation; and such as give themselves up to vice are as bsolute profligates. The number of these is, however, very mited.

The Germans, who settled themselves in this state, were mong the most ignorant inhabitants of their native country, nd a great part of them have transmitted this unfortunate haracteristic to their descendants. A small collection of these t Germantown, in the south-western corner of Columbia, have been mentioned to me by authority, which I cannot dis pute, as a very worthy and respectable body of plain people distinguished for their industry, good order, sound morals, and attachment to religion. Those on the Mohawk are, in many instances, of a different character.

The French Protestants who colonized New-Rochelle have chiefly, if not wholly, become mere Americans; in no way distinguishable, except by their surnames, from the de scendants of the English colonists. It is a fact deserving of notice, that a considerable number of these people have been

persons of high respectability, and have been elevated to very honourable stations; and many others have acquired ample fortunes, and sustained very desirable characters in private life. A prophet might attribute their prosperity to a particular blessing of God, who on many occasions has been pl[illegible]d to shower his favour upon the descendants of those [illegible]e been persecuted for their piety.

[illegible]hese classes of colonists it is to be observed generally, [illegible]ill soon be so entirely amalgamated with those from [illegible]nd, as to be undistinguishable.

I am, Sir, &c.

END OF VOLUME III.

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